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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS

THE

IOWA JOURNAL

OF

HISTORY AND POLITICS

EDITOR

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH

VOLUME XX

1922

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

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1922

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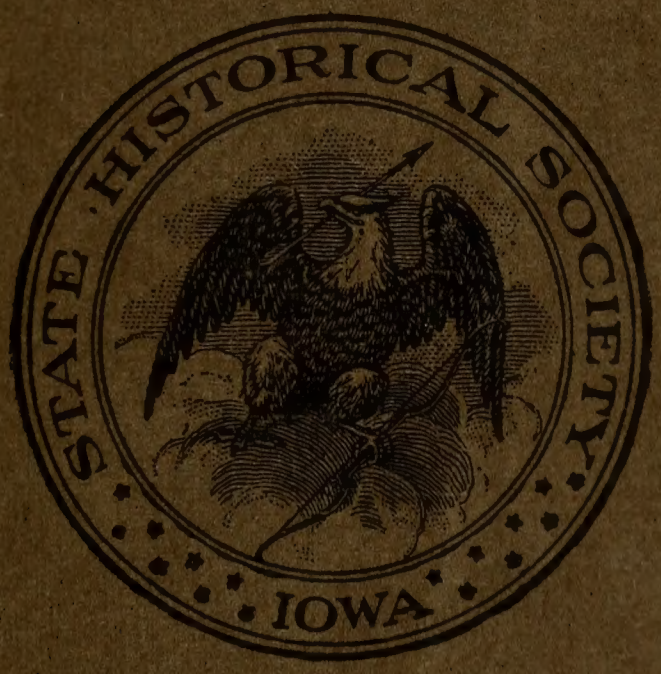
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LETTERS FROM THE WEST IN 1845

[In the summer of 1845, Stephen H. Hayes, a young minister from Frankfort (now Winterport), Maine, made a trip as far west as the Territory of Iowa, going by way of Boston, New York, Washington, Pittsburgh, and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and returning by way of Chicago and the Great Lakes. During his journeying he noted his experiences and observations in a series of letters addressed to Mr. Archibald Jones, the postmaster of Frankfort, with whom he had boarded. The earlier letters of the series describe the cities east of the Alleghanies, but the limitations of space have made it seem desirable to omit these letters and begin with those which deal with his trip west of the mountains.

The letters were often written in haste and contain numerous abbreviations. The writer usually reduced the names of towns to their initials and even compressed some words as short as "which" to "wh.". In editing the manuscript, abbreviations of words and names, where there is no doubt of the writer's intentions, have been expanded. In other respects, however, an effort has been made to reproduce the original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. The originals of the letters were contributed to The State Historical Society of Iowa by Professor Stephen Hayes Bush of the State University of Iowa, a grandson of Mr. Stephen H. Hayes.— THE EDITOR]

Cincinnati May 27th 1845

Dear Friends

In due time I will explain why I am at Cincinnati again. In my last letter I left you at Uniontown Pennsylvania. From there to Brownsville 11 miles we had a delightful ride, through the beautiful country we saw from the mountains. We reached Brownsville on the Monongahela about 10 h. A. M. This is an inconsiderable village. Here we embarked for Pittsburg. We had taken a ticket from Baltimore to Pittsburg, because it was $1.00 cheaper than by Wheeling, and we saved about 50 miles staging. The passage down the Monongahela is by slackwater navigation, having to pass several locks. The country is very pleasant, the air pure, and vegetation seemed rapidly advancing. There is great

abundance of coal on this stream. We reached Pittsburg about 4 P. M. and immediately engaged our passage down to Cincinnati for $4.00 a distance of 500 miles, all found. We then went up to see the desolated city. Between 20 and 30 steam boats lay at the wharves, but unlike those on the eastern waters, these draw seldom more than 4½ feet of water. They have the slope to the bank to the river perhaps 100 rods long and 6 or 8 wide all paved neatly which they call the wharf — perhaps inclined to an angle of 23 or 25 degrees. This is sometimes entirely inundated, but at such times little is done in transportation. You remember that the Ohio is here formed by the junction of the Monongahela and the Alleghany, the latter, a clear cold stream flowing down from the mountains and raised by steam I think to water the city. The fire made dreadful havoc. 56 *acres* of the business portion of the city was made a heap of ruins. The dust and rubbish was almost insupportable. The loss is estimated at $15,000,000. Many were made houseless and homeless. We saw some of the sufferers who were permitted to live in the court house, and had their cooking utensils, parlor, dormitory in the court room itself. This is a stately building far superior to any I have seen in New England. It cost with the jail $63,000. From the top we could see the whole country around. The desolation in the city is terrible — yet they have good courage. A very intelligent citizen, who was with us I. McDowell Esq. remarked, "we are workers here"— and so they seemed. All were busy and those who lost all are trying to do something. We pass a gentlemen to whom Mr. McDowell said. "you once had an office there". "Yes" he replied "and I mean to have another." He was at work overseeing, and was one of the first lawyers in the city. Rich[d] Biddle a eminent lawyer brother of N. Biddle, lost his house, office, &c with a library worth $25,000. Some one asked if he was

left poor. "No" was the reply, "not as long as he has his tounge left." They seemed in pretty good spirits. Some one hinted to another that his beard was long. "Ah", said he, "My rasor was burned." Alleghany is a pretty town just opposite Pittsburg containing a population of 11,000. It has a Theological Seminary, and some beautiful dwellings. In the Northwest part of the city of Pittsburg is a neighbourhood of Negroes, which appeared highly flourishing. Opposite Pittsburg is a small manufacturing village called Fligo[?]. Lower down another called (Manchester?) both on the Monongahela. These towns and villages are generally built of brick and from the iron manufactories and great abundance of coal they are black with soot. Going from our clean white New England towns and villages, here one *feels* constantly the imperious necessity of frequent ablutions, yet the people are uncommonly healthy. The population of Pittsburg is [space left blank] The tract of country W. bounded by the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers and the mountains is very fertile and in a high state of cultivation. Pittsburg will long feel its misfortune but will eventually arise. It has great natural resources in the soil of the surrounding country, and its coal and iron which are inexhaustible. If I can get time I will write more particularly of these productions. I do not now remember the population — from 30 to 40,000. Pittsburg has been called the Birmingham of the Ohio Valley. When we went on board our boat we expected to start that night but did not. We were heavily laden and the Captain had engaged his passengers, and they were obliged to pay, so that he felt little anxiety, but we were much troubled for fear we should not get through before the Sabbath. One thing however, is pleasant. You have your state room containing two berths and having two doors one opening into the cabin and one on deck the latter having blinds with which you can pro-

tect yourself and still have fresh air. Our boat was very orderly, and well furnished, so that aside from the jar one can read and write with ease. Ours was not a regular packet, and hence was not crowded with pickpockets gamblers &c. This class are commonly found on the larger boats, having for their object to win money or to plunder. In point of time however we missed it, for the regular boat which was to go at 10 h. A. M. the next day reached Cincinnati ten hours earlier than we did. There is all this difference.

We soon passed some villages, fine orchards, decent dwellings, though you seldom see a window blind. Brick houses are numerous, but not elegant, and the bricks look as if they were half burnt. In this region even in this city, a brick house looks miserably unless painted. We passed Economy 18 miles from Pittsburg a pleasant village, where the silk business is carried on quite extensively. You may remember that this place is one built up, and conducted on the plan of Owenism or Fourrierism, but I learned little of its true character. I have seen a very flattering account of it, written some years since.

I must again close my letter. The drought is very severe and I fear will impede our progress as we wish to go down the river. I feel no little anxiety about the preaching. I wish the committee to see Prof. Shepherd or Prof. Pond or both and get them to come down a Sabbath or two. I hope this arrangement will be made. I am here at a great distance from home and to turn about and go back without getting some adequate idea of our great country, I do not think it my duty. If the people complain tell them just to get a new minister and I will stay out here. Room enough as Dr. Beecher said. The west is all place. My health is pretty good. I have had no ill turns — good appetite. May not have gained much flesh, but think I shall when I have an

opportunity. Have received more profit from my journey than I anticipated, but my letters all seem so meager that you will not believe me. I should be very happy did I only suppose the desk in the chapel was well supplied. Though I have passed through many towns and much country and seen a numerous people, I have not yet forgotten our beloved New England and our own dear village of people of Frankfort. My love to all tell the people all about me that will interest them.

Affectionately,

S. H. H.

Cincinnati Ohio. On board the Cutter for St. Louis Thursday Morning, May 29 1845.

Dear Friends.

You see what a flourish of trumpets I have in my date. This is western style. But I must tell you what I saw on my way down the beautiful river. I left you yesterday some miles on our way. We next passed Beaver the capital of Beaver County, a pretty village, containing a court house, jail, Academy, several manufactories &c. Here the Big Beaver empties into the Ohio. This place has about 1000 population. This was on the 15th, when we had heavy showers and a dull day. The day before was very warm and uncomfortable. This day a fire or great coat was necessary so you see sudden changes are not peculiar to Maine. We passed through pleasant and highly cultivated districts, though there is on both sides of the river much unoccupied territory. In compareing the Ohio side with the Kentucky side you must not suppose the former a paradise nor the latter a desert, though with free labour, you see every where the signs of enterprise, and the converse under servitude. There is much forest on both sides. The land is frequently uneven but never rises into the bold hills of New

England The soil is mellow and so far as I observed entirely free from stone. Coal is very abundant. These hills seem to be masses of coal, and you would frequently see rail roads running down to the river. Occasionally a hill would seem entirely composed of a coarse grey rock, through which were entrances to the coal mines. There were occasionally fine farms, and probably we passed some during the night, but on the whole, I did not observe that state of improvement I anticipated. The river however was low, and we could not well observe from the boat. I think from what I learn the cultivation and improvements on the river does not compare with the interior. At 10½ h. A. M. Thursday morning we reached Wellsville, 50 miles from Pittsburg, and here we entered the Ohio. This is situated on an elevation above high water and is increasing in business and population. It contains a Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopal church — one of each — several commission merchants, a foundry, a steam saw mill and a steam flour mill, (there are about 35 flour mills in the neighbourhood) a stone ware manufactory &c. From 40 to 50,000 barrels of flour are exported from this town annually, besides a large quantity of other produce. I have been specific in this description as it is the first town we have seen in Ohio. Steubenville is another flourishing town 20 miles farther on, and contains among other things a flourishing Female Seminary under the care of the Reverend Charles C. Beattie D. D. This is a permanent institution and the most extensive in the western country. It was here that Miss Mitchell to whom Mr. N. A. Prince was engaged to be married, taught and died. Towards night we passed Wheeling. This is a black smoky town. Those who have not seen these manufacturing places where so much coal is burned cannot easily imagine the unpleasant appearance they present. Wheeling is surrounded with hills covered with groves and

large trees and produces on the whole a pleasing effect. We passed a small village where a mound was pointed out. We could only see it as we passed. I was told that it had been entered and contained several apartments where bones were originally found. It is perhaps from 50 to 60 feet high, has a cupola on its top and shrubbery on its sides. I think it is made a sort of museum. I have gained no new light as to its origin. On Friday morning we passed Blennerhassets Island. This is several miles in length, level, covered with fields, trees, orchards &c. Yet I saw but one house and out buildings. It was quiet green and beautiful, still it awakened melancholy associations. Here our boat frequently touched bottom, or rather the many small stones rolling along in the bottom of the river and worn round by attrition. As our boat made slow progress and fearing that we might be caught on the Sabbath we were in readiness to go ashore at Marietta but the Captain got wind of it and did not touch. So we quietly submitted. Our Captain was a singular man, born and bred on the river, attending well to his business but seldom talking save in monosyllables and these a surly yes and no. He was generally by himself, never eating with his passengers but with his crew. Many a worse man than he, has lived. Marietta is the oldest town in Ohio and appears more like a New England village than any I have yet seen. It contains a college, many pleasant dwellings, &c. Its site is level, but it is surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills which give it a beautifully picturesque appearance. Here the Muskingum river empties into the Ohio which has 60 miles slackwater navigation to Zanesville, and there connects with the Ohio. My statements may not always be correct as I gather them from conversation with individuals. Marietta has not grown rapidly. There is here a bend in the river, which caused it to wash the shore so much that a break water is

necessary so that boats do not approach the shore; in lieu thereof there are wharf boats, fastened to the breakwater, and passengers, freight &c. are embarked from these. On the Virginia side there are only some dozen poor houses. We learned from some one here, that the man who sowed the first bushel of wheat in Ohio, is still living. His name is John White. At the mouth of the little Kanawha River is Parkersburg. Here I took a run for ten minutes while the boat stopped. I could not forget that I was on slave ground. This is quite a village. I was told that the sons of rich planters would come here with the portion that fell to them, waste it in a little while by gambling and dissipation, and then turn loafers and desperados. This is common in other places. A gentleman told me that a young man without money going into such a place to gain a livelihood by his own industry would be trampled upon. Such is the spirit of "Slaveocracy". We touched at Point Pleasant. Here brother Thurston had some acquaintances. He wished to stop a few minutes — fortunately found one of them on the wharf. Several individuals formerly of his parish reside here (Gilmores). We met a gentleman who came on board somewhere here by the name of Cushing, a lawyer of Gallipolis whose father was born at Plymouth Massachusetts. We find everywhere people from New England. Point Pleasant is at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, which has 60 miles of navigation, and a rich and flourishing valley. At Gallipolis a high rock is shown, from which, in olden time a white man pursued by an Indian leaped, and *lit* in the top of a tree, thence descending he swam across the river and escaped. Friday night cold — some frost — it is said grain will be essentially injured. On these cold nights the river is often so foggy as to stop the boats. An intelligent buckeye told me the last winter was mild, that such winters in Ohio are unhealthy. Among other cases he stated, that

three I think died out of the family of his wife's father. He related some interesting facts one of which was that he had heard the Hon Thos. Ewing say in a public speech that when he was a poor boy he had many a time eaten his mush and milk out of a *gourd*. I learned from him that the railroad from Cincinnati to Lake Erie would soon be completed. The company had loaned $500,000 in Boston, and portions of the road are completed at both ends. So that soon there will be a railroad from Boston via Albany, along the shores of Lake Erie to Cincinnati. The people here are expecting great results from this enterprise and they cannot be disappointed.

Portsmouth is a manufacturing town 112 miles from Cincinnati, iron works &c. signs of enterprise. I noticed a little steamer towing six enormous coal boats up the river. They fill them and let them float down. I saw trading boats containing a great variety of articles that float down and stop at the villages and trade. They are sold or abandoned but never carried back. Maysville is a very pleasant town on Kentucky side, and like many others surrounded by high hills. Covered with trees green pastures &c. Really romantic. There are very few interesting villages on the Kentucky side. At ten on Saturday evening we reached this queen city of the West, and after trying three public houses found a place to pillow our heads. Surely goodness and mercy have followed us.

Affect yours

S. H. H.

Ohio River May 29th 1845.

Dear Friends.

We left Cincinnati an hour since, and I am now on the river again. The boat jars, and I can with difficulty write. I told you we tried at three hotels before we could get

lodgings. In the morning we went to the Temperance House to breakfast. We had heard it spoken of as a good house but in all my life, I never saw such a place. We could not find who were at the head of it and could find no place suitable to sit down in. I felt ashamed that a house professing to be a temperance house should be unfit for a stable. I felt ashamed of the friends of the cause. Its enemies certainly will triumph in such a caricature. After breakfast we walked in pursuit of Sunday Schools. We had in our company the Presiding Elder from Maryland a slaveholder, but whose conscience was troubled, and who would never call his negroes slaves but servants. We went to the first Presbyterian Church and there met another Presiding Elder also a slaveholder. You may wish to know how we ascertain this. The subject was to come up in the General Assembly, and in speaking of *that,* it came in as a matter of course. This latter gentleman resided near Lexington and gave us an interesting account of H. C. Indeed I was disposed to think I had been severe in my opinion for he corroborated his statements by the authority of the Reverend Mr. H. whose letter was published &c, but I had abundant cause to return to my former opinion for reasons, which I will not here state. This Presiding Elder was a gentleman and I hope a Christian, but the southern standard of morals and religion is low. The Sunday Schools were small — of the three we visited no one contained over 120 scholars — though a good degree of interest was manifested by those who were present. We were introduced to the Committee of Arrangements, who directed us to the Reverend Dr. Cleaveland's, who wished for New England men. Dr. Cleaveland is a half brother of the professor at Bowdoin College. I had seen him in New England. He is a native of Byfield, Massachusetts. Has been some years in the west, and recently settled in Cincinnati. We found a

welcome at his house. He had recently married an accomplished lady (his second wife) in Exeter, New Hampshire for whom he exhibited the fondness peculiar to *widowers* in their second marriage. But we had a happy home at his house and had the pleasure of meeting there several distinguished individuals. Most of them however were originally from New England. We heard the Reverend Dr. Edgar of Louisville preach. He used no notes and spoke with much ease. It was an example of Southern preaching. In the P. M. we were going to hear another man and went accordingly, but being too late we returned to Dr. Cleaveland's church and heard the same Dr. Edgar. He has much action and declamation, much talking to the clouds. Quotes much poetry and scripture, and produces after all but little impression. He is a popular preacher, but in New England would not satisfy. And I may here remark that intelligent Christians of the South and West really prefer the solid written sermons of New England. The people of the west will not be fed on chaff. They have but little respect for the office of the ministry, and if there is nothing but bluster in the man they care not a straw for him. In every congregation and community there are men of much intelligence. In most of the churches in Cincinnati they have preaching in the A. M. and evening. In Dr. Cleaveland's church in the A. M. and P. M. though the latter service comes at 4 o'clock. In the evening I went to hear Dr. Potts of St. Louis but was so sleepy I could not hear much.

I attended occasionally the meetings of the General Assembly but was not particularly interested. It is a sort of spiritual court, and they are governed in their proceedings by the strict letter of the book of discipline, and they quibble and contend as in a court of law. Several days were spent in discussing the question "whether Catholic Baptism is valid", a question which ought not to be even raised.

Then came up the slavery question. This was brought in slily — we did not know when and were not there, but they soon passed over it, though the southern members had come prepared to defend their institution, but they voted at once that where Christ had not legislated they should not and then Dr. Rankin[?] President of Lafayette College who has attempted to prove that slavery is a divine institution, moved that thanks be offered to Almighty God, for the manner in which they had been able to dispose of this subject. Many southern men said, No! No! and the thanks were not offered. Several days were spent in discussing the marriage question, "whether a man shall marry his wife's sister". "The Book" says "no", and many men contended manfully not for the bible, but for the *book*. Others took the opposite side, among whom was Judge Grier, of Pittsburg, who remarked, he was not himself selfish in the matter, as his wife had no *sister*. They did not decide the question, but reffered it to the lower courts, i. e. the people in their Presbyteries. The Presbyterian Church has a Federal government while Congregational churches are democratic. Several minor questions were discussed, reports made &c. The meeting is very unlike our General Conference. Not that dispatch, nor harmony as with us. I am more a Congregationalist than ever — more a northern man than ever. There is a strong feeling between the New and Old School parties. The latter are very stiff, and look upon the former as heritics. Some will not invite them to their communion. As an example of the extreme Dr. Wilson in whose church the General Assembly met, when administering the Sacrament near Lane Seminary, remarked they would be glad to invite the neighbouring church meaning that including Dr. Beecher, Stowe the Seminary etc. but their *fatal heresy* forbid it. Dr. Wilson will not, or *does* not speak to Dr. Beecher. Dr. Wilson is so stiff that

he will not have a painting or a picture in his house. A portrait painter, wishing to join his church he would not receive him, unless he would express his repentance for having sinned by such an occupation, and promise to abandon it, which he had the common sense *not* to do. There are however many warm hearted Christians in the Old School Assembly, who have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness. Their best men came off and formed what is called the New School. They more nearly resemble Congregationalists. I did not spend much time in the Assembly, the weather was excessively warm and they were excessively uninteresting to me. How they could hold on for two whole weeks I could not tell. Mr. Thurston in his remarks before the Assembly did himself and the churches which he represented much honour.

I am well. Am finishing this letter as our boat is lying at the wharf in Louisville.

Affect yours,

S. H. Hayes

Louisville Kentucky, May 30th 1845

I have just closed my last letter and sent it to the office, and will now improve this moment of quiet to give you a random description of Cincinnati the "Queen of the West." It is situated on the banks of the Ohio with a long paved wharf as in Pittsburg at which you will always see a long array of steam boats. It contains a population of 90,000[?], is built on a plain, surrounded by hills, forming a complete basin, and when the whole shall be filled with inhabitants it will contain perhaps 200,000. It is regularly laid out, the streets parallel with the river, being numbered 1, 2, 3, &c, up to the 17th, and the cross streets having fancy names as walnut, vine, &c. It is to a good degree ornamented with shrubbery, which will need some years to develope its

beauty. The streets are badly paved with lime rock, with which the surrounding hills are filled. These pavements have settled in some places, and are really the worst I have ever seen, and when it is dry the air is filled with lime rock dust. The houses are decent, but not elegant, and many of them were hastily and badly built. There are no public buildings, the State establishments being at Columbus. Their public school houses are large and really excellent. They have several literary institutions, such as Cincinnati College, Woodward College, St. Xavier's College, and a Medical College. Also a College of Dental Surgery. They have some good churches. The Catholics have several large churches, and are now building a splendid cathedral, and two large churches. Some 1600 buildings are in a process of erection this season. There are from 20 to 30,000 Catholics most of whom are Germans. They are an enterprising class of people, are accumulating property and a gentleman who has closely observed, remarked to me that in his opinion the Germans would eventually monopolize the business of Cincinnati They have recently purchased the property belonging to the United States Bank, to the amount of 800,000 (in Cincinnati.) They live prudently, are disposed to favour each other. They are filling the surrounding country, and for the most part supply the market. The market in Cincinnati is a curiosity. I went out one morning on purpose to see it about 5 o clock. It consists of some two or three hundred waggons covered with canvass, drawn by one or two horses, and by the way the horses here are very large. They come in from the surrounding country and bring every kind of provision with which a table can be supplied. Such a variety and such a display I have never seen. I counted in one row 127 waggons, in another 80, in another 50 besides a multitude of stands, and then a building which contained the meat, and

near it the *fish* market. Here was every sort of vegitable, a great variety of meats, and they eat a great deal of flesh in the west, not uncommonly having 6 different kinds on the same table. Here was abundance of fresh fish. But the fish are poor. Ripe strawberries from 8 to 12½ cents veal 40 cents per quarter, but I did not inquire the prices of many things. Ripe cherries, cucumbers, peas, eggs by the barrel 6 or 8 cents per dozen. Here you see waggons of live fowl and often the purchaser carries them off "squawking" through the streets. I have seen *loads* of live calves driven along for the slaughter. Also of sheep. These waggons come in over night, and arrange themselves in their places. But how are they defended. They have abundance of monstrous dogs, but these do not protect the market. The market people sleep in their waggons, rain or shine. Often women come unprotected to market and lodge in the waggons. I have seen a mother with a child not apparently more than 4 months old sitting at 5 o'clock in the morning in one of these waggons. And you often see women selling articles which if they had cooked them would have forced you to die of starvation. Still their articles look well — butter is often wrapped in thin white cloth done up of course into balls or blocks. Every thing is quiet in the market. Public sentiment protects it. These waggons are all gone by ten or eleven in the A. M. Cincinnati presents a very business like aspect. I have not seen larger ware houses, though the stores do not compare with some in New York or Boston. Here you find every variety of merchandise — great numbers of clothing stores. I saw in Cincinnati saddles, especially ladies saddles, trunks etc, in more extensive assortments, and of more elegant manufacture than all I *ever* saw in New England. Some ladies saddles are worth 40 or 50$. You see here great numbers of show boxes along the streets with trinkets, fancy articles,

jewelry &c. Most of the clerks appeared to me to be foreigners. As you pass many of these stores, you find a clerk stationed at the door to urge you to go in. Many of these German dealers, resemble the traveling pedlers of the East. Most goods can be bought here at a little advance of Boston prices. Public houses are very numerous, some excellent and I would prefer to board where a *divinity student once did!* than in some I have seen. In all this western world taverns are abundant. I once counted six in a village no larger than the *Marsh.* In Cincinnati there are few negro servants in the Hotels, but Germans, and far inferior. Cincinnati is rapidly improving in wealth and population. I have been told that 1700 houses are this year in a process of erection. Probably, as you stand on some eminence you can look upon the abode of more than 100,000 souls. Just above the city on the Ohio side is Fulton, stretching along by a single street towards a mile, where boat building is extensively carried on. Opposite on Kentucky side is Covington a pleasant town of 4 or 5000 inhabitants from which when we left, we took some 16 slaves for St. Louis. They were accompanied by a driver with a two barreled gun, whether to shoot game or negroes I did not learn. Just above Covington is another small town, called Newport. I have before observed that Cincinnati is surrounded with hills. Most of these rise to considerable height, and have a bold appearance. But they are digging them down, to pave the streets, stone cellars &c. These hills are full of lime stone deposited in layers, between which the earth is imbedded. I have seen hills cut down perpendicularly to the depth of 50 feet and the stones and earth have the appearance of a work of art. These stones are full of fossil remains, shells, coral &c., some specimens of which I shall bring home. You have all heard of the observatory. This is situated on one of these hills called Mt. Adams, for J. Q. A. who laid the

corner stone. The edifice is not yet completed. It is built of stone dug from the hills near it, a portion of it being finished for a private residence, and a portion for visitors and philosophical purposes. It contains a fine Telescope said to be the largest in this country. It is a private enterprise, under the care of Professor Mitchell, and they have thought fit to charge $1.00 for day visits and $2.00 for a visit at night. I had a line of introduction from Dr. C. but found Prof. M. absent. I learned that gentlemen and ladies were there that morning as early as 3 o'clock. From the Observatory you have a fine view of the city and all the surrounding country. It is really a fine prospect. From the Observatory, as you advance west, in a little while you cross a ravine which is filled with butchers. Ascending from this you reach the road leading to Walnut Hills the seat of Lane Seminary. On a little further continually ascending you come to a very paradise called Mt. Auburn. Here are some of the most splendid dwellings I have seen in this region, surrounded with fine gardens, many of which are extensive and have already abundance of strawberries cherries &c. This is the residence of Dr. Mussey formerly of New England, besides many others. As I was going down from these hills I met an old lady going up with whom I had some conversation. She told me she went to Cincinnati in 1814, and now as she went out and looked upon that great city it seemed to her she must have lived 200 years. But workmen are digging down these hills all around. Many regret it much, but the owners wish to make money, and the stones and gravel are needed.

One P. M. we went to Lane Seminary. This is situated 2½ miles from the city. In cool weather it must be a delightful walk but now it was warm and intolerably dusty. But the region of the Seminary is delightful. The professors live in good houses surrounded with green fields and

shrubbery, flowers &c. and near are those beautiful forests of which I have spoken. Andover is beautiful, but it is the beauty of art. Bangor to *me* is beautiful, but it is the beauty of association but Lane Seminary has something more than the beautiful, it has the grandeur of nature in its hills and forests. We wandered in their solitude. Saw a student studying divinity there, a fit place, surrounded by the colums and overarching branches of this cathedral of nature. We did not stop long at the Seminary as Drs. Beecher and Stowe, and Prof. Allen were all absent. There is here one of the finest theological libraries in this country. Their annaversary occurs the first week in June. We went to tea at a Mr. Tichenors, one of the trustees, an educated man, living on the banks of the Ohio in one of the most delightful spots I have ever seen. He has a beautiful garden, and his fine spacious residence is surrounded by a forest of these same grand old trees all clean and grassy under their lofty but shading branches. Here I partook of strawberries though it was only about the 20th of May. Here we met Prof. Allen, of the Seminary, a fine man, but simple and plain in his manners and pretensions. I could have staid a long time. Mr. and Mrs. Tichenor were intelligent Christians, had once lived in Alabama, were rich and had all the hospitality of the South, with little of the aristocracy. We saw Dr. Beecher in New York. He is much beloved by the students here, though he has many peculiarities. They often have to send for him for recitation. Sometimes find him fiddling, often comes in (50 rods.) in his slippers though it be raining, not thinking to change them, always comes running: is still brilliant in the recitation room. Prof. Stowe is one of the most learned men in this country. He told me with reference to friend Chadwick's inquiry about his tobacco using, that he abominated the practice and had used none for many years. He could not

tell from whence sprang the report. He says notwithstanding the many interesting things in the West, were it not his duty to stay here he would gladly return to New England and spend his days, and Prof. Stowe is not alone in his views.

You may be aware that Rev. Breece has had a call to go to Cincinnati and settle. New churches are springing up in the city but this one to which he is called is yet in its infant state, and I am satisfied that nothing but a sense of duty would lead him there did he understand the circumstances.

No less than three new churches two New School and one Old are about to be built. I was present at the laying of the corner stone of one the day before I left. There is a powerful Catholic influence in Cincinnati. They have money and do as they please. There are other evil influences. Some substantial societies are steming the flood, but Cincinnati is a wicked city. Intemperance theft arson, and a thousand crimes almost are of daily occurrence. The people often, besides barring their doors and locking their yards, carry their silver spoons, plate &c, up stairs at night, to their sleeping rooms. The children boys of the city are under ruinous influences. I attended a Sunday School meeting which an agent of the Sunday School Union had invited, where there were 500 children present. It was in the evening and though the meeting was badly arranged, the children being all in the gallery, yet I never was in such a perfect bedlam. It was in the largest church in the city, and the noise was like the roar of winds and the rattle of pavements in a storm.

But I must close my letter. I fancy I see C. throw down my letters, "not very interesting", "cant read them if they were." I don't blame her, but still wish I did better. What I have not written I will tell you when I come home. I was tired of staying in Cincinnati and was heartily glad when our boat cast off though I had 700 miles to travel alone.

Evansville Indianna June 2nd 1845

Dear Friends.

I have been waiting here all day for a boat. Have run to the river some half dozen times when one of these floating homes was passing but find none for St. Louis. But how came you there you will ask? Be patient and know. I have not yet finished my description of Cincinnati, but having a half unfinished letter in my portfolio which is packed in by baggage, I will pass over a space and begin at Oxford Ohio. One week ago last Friday I went to Oxford with Rev. Mr. Tenney brother of Rev. L. Tenney of Ellsworth. Mr. Tenney came on the next day his friend from Oxford having sent a carriage to Cincinnati for him. It is a most delightful ride from Cincinnati to Oxford, distance 32 miles, all the way on an excellent turnpike, pass 5 gates, pay at each. Gates frequent to save all intermediate travel. The land very rich. Most magnificent forests, nothing has pleased me more than these grand old forests growing on a rich bottom, or on luxuriant swells, all hard wood, of the richest green, and waving their tall heads in the gentle breezes of heaven. We passed some of the finest bottom land I have ever seen. So rich that the soil is almost black, which for a long succession of years is planted with corn and then with difficulty made poor enough for wheat. But do not think all the land in Ohio is like this. I think however they have not the skill of New England farmers. Their management is inferior. They raise abundance of hogs, but less of other domestic animals. Much of the corn in Ohio is made into whiskey which is sent all over the world, some of it to France and comes back in the shape of brandy. The Miami valley is one of the greatest places for whiskey in the world. An old friend of mine, whom I met here, had preached down three distilleries. Said he had five under his pastoral care! I heard of one man who kept 3000 hogs

at his distillery — of another company that had two distilleries and made in both 240 barrels weekly, kept 800 hogs — of one distillery, that was burned, and the 1000 hogs connected with it were turned out to grass but their *teeth* were gone, and they died. This whiskey is a curse upon Ohio and the world.

Oxford is a delightful place. Though little larger than Frankfort, it is a *city* has a mayor and city officers as do most of these western villages. The whole town is 6 miles square, and the city is just one mile square, all of which (the land) belongs to the college, Miami University, which is situated in the middle of mile square. The land from the college is gently inclined each way to the borders of the city and from the top of the college which is very high you have a beautiful prospect. Here we saw Mr. Lane originally from Maine, who gave quite a sum of money to Lane Seminary and from whom that institution takes its name. He was from New Gloucester, and wishes to return there or to Portland if he can sell his farm for $6,000. We found quite a number of New England people. Some from Maine formerly of Prospect and belonged to Mr. Thurstons congregation. A Mrs. Ross, sister of Capt. Kidder, who may have removed to Frankfort, also her father and sister. Mr. Tenney has a fine situation, and a most excellent *wife*. She was a Connecticut lady, a teacher of a high school, and a prize for any man. He is young has a small church, but good prospects, a destitute region around him. I went out five miles in the P. M. having preached in the A. M. and heard W. T. It was within a stone's throw of Indianna. Here I noticed all sorts of people. Many ladies came on horseback, many were there with *infants*. Many in rather a primative style. Some gay and sprightly as Boston belles. Mr. Thurston preaches in evening for in the West, it is quite a prevailing custom to have a service only in the

morning and evening. On Monday morning instead of going directly on through Columbus, and through the State as we intended, we concluded to go by the way of St. Louis. All our friends here advised us to this course, told us we should always regret it, and Mr. Thurston thought it best. He concluded to take the land track, and I the water and meet in St. Louis last Saturday. His journey was 300 miles, mine more than 700. I returned to Cincinnati rode down in company with a gentleman and two ladies in a baggage waggon, covered with canvass, the ladies sitting in two chairs and myself with my friend on a trunk. This gentleman had a fine two horse carriage, was the proprietor of a factory, but was going on business now. I reached Cincinnati just as the Steamer North American started for St. Louis. Now I must stop for another boat. I had a home at Dr. Cleaveland's. The next day a boat was ready, but I was advised not to go as she was large and would probably get aground, for the water has been seldom lower than now in the Ohio. A boat started the next day, but I did not go for the same reason. On Thursday a light boat was ready. I took passage at 3 P. M. Being alone, I have become quite independent and get acquainted with anybody I chose. We soon passed North Bend. Had a fine view of it, but you see nothing but a large and fine farm, a two story white house large and awkward, with fine trees in front. Few other residents in the neighbourhood. Harrison's tomb is on a gentle swell 50 rods perhaps from the house containing some shrubbery, and surrounded by a white paling, perhaps enclosing 2 or 3 acres of ground. It does not much resemble the picture in my room. Friday morning we reached Louisville. Here we stopped an hour. Louisville contains 36,460 population. From the top of the Galt house a fine Hotel, I had a good view of the city. It is situated on a plain, with much wild shrubbery and trees in the distance but no ele-

gant dwellings as in the suburbs of most cities. It has 27 churches, a marine hospital, medical college &c. 600 or 700 buildings are being erected this summer. When the water is low there is a fall in the river, which is passed by a canal, cut nearly all the way through solid limestone, for the distance of 2½ or 3 miles. This is a costly work, and expensive passing. Something like 50 cents a ton for boats. Just through the canal is situated the town of Portland where lives the giant — Jim Porter who traveled in New England as a *show* some years since. He keeps a sort of beer shanty, but we did not see him being up stairs playing cards. His gun, stock and all, is between 8 and 9 feet long, he 7 feet 8 inches high. We passed on well this night, but the next morning reached French Island, where we overtook every one of the boats that had left before us save one. Here is a bad sand bar. One boat of a large class was fast in the sand bar, on board of which was Henry Clay. I have since learned he has gone back to Louisville. Here all the passengers landed to lighten the boat which did not draw more than 3 feet 8 inches. Still she with the others *stuck*. They worked hard and got her off about 4 P. M. while we were from 10 A. M. to 4 P. M. wandering on the shore. No houses save a few miserable huts. Here I saw as fine soil as in Ohio (we were on the Kentucky side) the majestic growth of trees exceeding in size any I had seen, principally the cotton wood, sycamore and poplar — very large fields of corn but no appearance of enterprise or thrift. It is not so all over Kentucky Some portions of the State are great gardens. A large tract through from Louisville to Lexington, I am told is the picture [of] wealth and prosperity. We were sick enough of the waiting, though at first we thought it fine. At length we were on board, but in the course of two hours were stuck fast in a sand bank, where every effort failed to release the boat till morning. All our

state rooms were full and the floor covered with mattresses. I gave up my room to a sick man and tried to sleep on the floor but the racket made by the men who wrought all night long kept me awake. The next morning she started, but it was Sabbath. I could not get a shore the night before but this morning went down to this place very early and came ashore — did not know a soul here but went to a public house. Then went to the Reverend Mr. Baines New School Presbyterian and spent the Sabbath and preached for him. I shall tell you more of this. Only let me say now, to my surprise here I found no less than 4 of my own townsfolk, school children with me. I cannot tell you my satisfaction. It is *hot* here, strawberries gone, raspberries just coming on, peas actually ripe, peaches 1-3 grown, notwithstanding the drought and cold — for let me say, Friday night and Saturday morning on the Ohio a great coat was comfortable.

Yours affect

S. H. H.

Evansville June 3d. It is Tuesday and I am weary with waiting for a boat. One at the wharf going to the mouth of the river which I think I shall take. By the way, I have a traveling companion to St. Louis, a young lady, a graduate of Mt. Holyoke Seminary. She is soon going to Miss. A fine girl. She has been waiting not wishing to go alone. I could not refuse. A word about ladies. They are the plainest set in Cincinnati that I have ever seen in all my perigrinations, small, pale, mean looking. This is too bad to say, but it is true. I occasionally see a handsome married lady whom some one has found in some other country, but spare me from the ladies of the South and West, so far as beauty is concerned. Their education is defective. I have been rallied often on my celibacy, but seldom advised to take a wife here. I have seen some fine girls from the east.

A young lady here from Vermont whom I have jokingly invited to go to Frankfort and teach a school. She says she is fond of snowbanks and sleighrides but you will pardon all this, it is very awkwardly done. I am not use to writing of the ladies.

This is a place of considerable business, and the terminus of the Great Central Canal which connects the river here with Lake Erie, or will do so when it is completed. It will then be perhaps the longest canal in the world. Evansville is the county seat of ———— and has some 4000 inhabitants, a bank, court house &c.

Kentucky is just across the river and I would ride out to some of the plantations were it not so warm and did I not fear of losing the boat. You may sometimes ask why the slaves do not cross the river and be free. They would do so, but there are so many who watch to catch them for reward that they do not dare to attempt it, since if they are caught they are made an example of. People, though they have no sympathy with abolition, that is, but few do, yet nearly all *profess* abhorence to slavery. Still they say we can do nothing.

I suppose Mr. Thurston is waiting for me at St. Louis, and I am anxious to meet him, though I find several homes here. Two of my friends are physicians, one the wife of a physician, and one the wife of a methodist minister. I stop at the Reverend Mr. Baines whose wife was a teacher at the Female Seminary at Marietta. There is a female High School in their house, which was built for the purpose. Mrs. Baines knew Mr. Robins. This mental affection is not a new thing. I learn from her and from Prof. Allen of Lane Seminary that there is but little prospect of his recovery, that his mind was unsound when he went East. I am well. Am anxious to get home. Get Prof. Shepherd if you can to preach. I will settle with him. Love to all.

S. H. H.

Mississippi River, 600 miles from the Mouth of the Ohio. Just above Davenport lying to in a shower on the Upper Rapids. June 11th 1845.

Dear Friends — My last letter was written at Evansville Indiana. I waited there from Monday till Wednesday at 8 A. M. for a boat when I went on board the Champion a New Orleans steamer for the mouth of the Ohio river, intending there to take another boat up to St. Louis. But let me here say a word of Evansville. I know not what I may already have said for it requires a better memory than I have to keep my own reckoning. Evansville is a flourishing village containing from 4 to 5000 inhabitants. It has no manufactoring interest, but being the County Seat the terminus of the Great Canal, and an important boat landing, it has considerable business, but it is situated on a perfect level, surrounded with a perfect level, covered with forests, though the country around is filling up with inhabitants. From the appearance of the stores and shops it is a place of no inconsiderable trade. It has a female school, and one for boys, two Presbyterian churches, 1 Episcopal, 1 Catholic, 1 Methodist, and some other sects, publishes 3 newspapers, and has Lawyers and doctors in abundance. It is a wicked place, but little conservative influence. Not 100 persons attend regularly each the Presbyterian churches. Nothing in a moral point of view is more striking in these towns and cities, (and by the way every place here in the west like Evansville is a city) than the differences in moral character resulting from the character of the population. Where there is an eastern stock to any extent, you find a conservative influence. These places are proud of having eastern men; though they may sometimes be looked upon as intruders, still they are silently looked up to, and imitated in many things. There was in Evansville formerly a strong

prejudice vs. Yankees. Dr. Trafton who has been here 20 years and who was formerly from Maine told me [he] had seen posted up on trees in Indiana this notice. So much for the *skin* of a Yankee. A Yankee is now rather a term of reproach, though a New Englander is significant of honour. Fearing I may be repeating what I have said before I will leave Evansville.

I was really glad to be once more on my way, for I suspected Mr. Thurston was waiting for me at St. Louis. Moreover the weather was insupportably hot. You can have little idea of the effect produced. I have seen the thermometer as high in Maine but nothing of that languor here produced. If you sit perfectly still, you may be comfortable, but stir, and you are enervated. This place is unhealthy, but I was quieted in my apprehensions on hearing that Northern people are less troubled with the "Chills" as they call the fever and ague, than natives, and that the former are not usually thus effected till they have been here from one to three years. Still I was glad to be on the boat. It was a splendid craft, finely fitted up, but the water was so low she had discharged her crew and in charge of the clerk was floating down to the Mississippi. They told us we might come on board and go as far as we could and if they stuck, they would put us on to another boat. We were finely situated as to accommodations, but I never felt that loneliness on a boat. It seemed just like a great palace deserted of its inmates, but we had not been on board above two hours, when she stuck fast in a sand bar. Fortunately for us in the course of a few minutes, a St. Louis boat came along, and we were politely put on board, and exchange was made. Here was a very diferent order of things — a smaller boat, that would pass the bars, but crowded with passengers. She had been up as far as the French Island bars, and there exchanged freight and passengers with

another boat transporting them across the bars in *flats,* and she was now on her way back. Though she drew 3½ feet of water she took with her a large flat boat with some hundreds of barrels of whiskey which she dared not take on board. It is common when the water is so low to take these flat boats, and sometimes they are obliged to put out all the freight, passengers, and even the machinery in order to pass. We saw acres of sand bars perfectly dry. But we hoped to pass safely now. You can hardly imagine the dread the passengers have, of these detentions. The boat was crowded, yet I succeeded in getting a berth for the lady in my care. There were two clergymen beside myself, and we with 30 or 40 were willing to sleep on the floor. But the first night I slept little. For fearing the bars, the boat lay by all night long, and some of the passengers not being able to sleep were singing much of the time. Near my head was the door of state room in which was a crazy woman who was talking, and laughing, and crying, in most singular tones. But the morning came and at 4 o'clock we must leave our couches, those of us on the floor. This was Thursday. The weather was still excessively hot. Our ice was gone. How I should love the cold winters of the North for making ice, were I always compelled to drink the waters of the Ohio. But we had after all, a pleasant company of all classes, ministers, lawyers, doctors. We had many ladies, and some rather attractive in their personal appearance. I have seen some elegant Kentucky ladies, with one I became somewhat acquainted. She was on her way to Galena to visit her sister, the wife of a Methodist presiding elder. It is no uncommon thing for ladies to go a thousand miles on these western waters to make a visit. You will sometimes go to the Marsh after Sarah. Ladies will here go 400 miles after a sister, sometimes just to accompany them. You can hardly imagine the amount of travel on these rivers, thou-

sands of boats, and all teeming with people. I expect to be in Galena tomorrow and purpose to call and see Ann Eliza Smith, but do not be alarmed, when I left her with other fellow passengers on the boat last Saturday I bid them all farewell having no idea of seeing them again. But you will learn why I go to Galena. I made many valuable acquaintances on the boat. Having a lady in my care I always had a place at the first table, and access to the ladies cabin or any part of the boat. There was a small band of music on board, and some ladies from New England who sang very well, and our evenings passed pleasantly. Some were reading, some telling stories, some playing cards, some singing songs, and some dreaming dreams. There were some 20 children on board from 6 months to 6 years of age, and the poor little things with their poor mothers were real sufferers, though some had two or three negro servants to take care of them. I gained much useful information as we had passengers from almost every part of the world, and on the boat every man is at liberty to become acquainted with any body he pleases. As to the river and its valley, there is much of sameness everywhere. A few flourishing villages mostly on the Illinois side, but generally forests, and flat bottom. Now and then a decent house, and *frequently* log cabins. The land immediately bordering on the river is rich, but liable to inundations, and generally unhealthy. Smithland at the mouth of the Cumberland River is a pleasant town of 1500 inhabitants The Cumberland River is navigable 600 miles. Steam boats run on all these western rivers to an astonishing distance. It is estimated that on the Ohio and its tributary streams, there are 5000 miles of navigable waters. Thursday night at about 7 o'clock we reached the mouth of the Ohio. You may remember Cairo the visionary city. This is situated in the angle formed by the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi. It was pur-

chased by Englishmen and laid out for a great city. They built dikes to curb the river, and have done much to induce settlers, but it overflows, has a low flat region around, and will never be anything. Here we took leave of some of our friends, and soon were stemming the current of the Mississippi "the father of waters". I felt a sort of pride in gazing on this mighty river. I had read of it in my boyhood, and in after years with a sort of veneration, and now to behold it, to ride upon it, to drink it gave me pleasure. The waters are very muddy and are always so, still they are more palatable and healthy than those of the Ohio. The water of the Mississippi resembles that which during a heavy shower runs through your streets. The scenery improves as you advance up the river. I had a travellers guide in my pocket, and kept watch of the towns, but I can assure you I was amused often. For example the town of Selma is laid down with as much ceremony as St. Louis, but the former had barely *two houses*. Ste. Genevieve is one of the oldest places on the Mississippi a French town pleasantly situated, with a great extent of bottom land so held that each man may cultivate as much of it as he pleases. This bottom was inundated last year which has not occurred before for ½ a century. The town is small perhaps 1500 or 2000 people, grows little and will never be much of a place. It requires Yankees to build up these cities. Here is an extensive quarry of white marble coarse and resembling sandstone. The lime rock prevails throughout the whole west. No granite and little marble of value. Back of Ste. Genevieve in Missouri perhaps 40 miles is situated the iron mountain containing a vast amount of iron — enormous masses lie on the surface. A gentleman told me it had been found so pure, that it would work on the anvil and even make knives. I saw a piece picked up there 78 per cent pure. Copper also abounds there and I had much conver-

sation with a Mr. Dille of Ohio who is a proprietor. He expects to reap great profit. He was on his way there. The mineral resources of Missouri are very great, iron, copper, coal, &c.

Passing Ste. Genevieve the bluffs are grand, rising 200 and perhaps 300 feet perpendicularly so that a shot manufactory is built on the brow of one. There is one pile called the tower, perhaps 100 feet high and round, you can see the layers of stone as if it were the work of art, evidently having been worn by a mighty tide of water, but when no voice sayeth. Some geologists are of opinion that all the bottom in this valley was once the bed of the Mississippi which was then a vast river. These bluffs were very grand and beautiful covered at the top with groves and cultivated fields and where they fell away to nearly a level with the water you would see a pretty cottage, sometimes a log cabin. One thing is noticeable which I may have mentioned, and that is, wherever, there are hills or bluffs on one side the other is flat and low.

Had we not been detained one whole night we should have reached St. Louis Friday morning but as it was we did not till late Friday night. We had suffered much from heat, and were glad to know we were in. It was 11 o'clock. Scarce any had gone to rest. Some were hoping to get to a public house. All was confusion. Here you must watch your baggage, keep your eye on it or lock it up. This must be done in all this west. Soon our boat was at the levee, but one poor fellow, a Catholic walked off and was drowned. Yet scarce any notice was taken of it. I know not that a single effort was made to recover the body. He was a sort of priest. They are very reckless of life here. A man is little more than a dog. You cannot have an idea of corruption of human nature in these cities, and generally, a com-

pany of gamblers are on each boat and they plunder when they can.

Saturday morning I arose early and went to find Mr. Thurston not doubting that he had been waiting nearly a week. It had given me much anxiety. I had written him exhorting him to patience. I soon found he had arrived there only about 12 hours before me. I went to his hotel and found he had gone up to Quincy 150 miles. I went to the office not doubting that I should find a letter but not one word. I knew not what to do, but thought I would get my baggage ashore and carry the young lady to a friends, intending to go to a hotel. I went into the house, was introduced as a clergyman from Maine and found that I was almost at home, for it was at a brothers of the Reverend J. Tucker of Maine with whom I was well acquainted, and I was not allowed to go to public house. His son also was minister of a town above on the river, and was there, so I found myself pleasantly situated. The weather was excessively hot, but towards night, I went to take leave of some of my friends and to make some plan to meet Mr. Thurston. I accordingly wrote him by a boat, to meet me at Peoria on the Illinois river, supposing he would go that way, and not knowing what to do with the young lady. So I wrote him and was at rest. Sabbath was tremendously hot. I did not dare to preach all day but consented to in the evening. There are many New England people in St. Louis. All the Presbyterian ministers. Some excellent Christians. Mrs. Bullard, wife of one of the ministers has often collected in a few hours 100$ for the poor or other charitable purposes. This however was when money was plenty. The people of St. Louis are noted for generosity. The French population are fast fading away.

But I will not give you a discription of St. Louis now. I am on a jarring boat, and there is much confusion. I will

just say on Monday morning I found a letter from Mr. Thurston urging me to follow him to Quincy and to go via Galena to Chicago &c. Here I was in confusion again for I had written him to meet me at Peoria, but I soon determined to put the lady under the care of another gentleman and strive to overtake Mr. Thurston. Arrangements were soon made, and I hastened on board a steamer at sunset. At this time we had a fine shower, rain poured down in torents. The air was pure. We passed on, saw Alton the spot where Lovejoy was shot. The people of Alton do not wish to hear the subject spoken of. It was now dark. The next morning fine. Some pretty towns. I was soon at Quincy trembling lest Mr. Thurston had got my letter and gone on but providentially he did not get it at all, though I was sure from the manner of sending it, he must get it. He was on the wharf and we gave each other a happy greeting.

I am anxious to get home. I am aware I am travelling too rapidly. I do hope the people will make some provision for the pulpit. I have now been absent five Sabbaths. Shall be three more. I have little opportunity to write, so I hope you will excuse every thing. My health is very good.

Yours, &c.

S. H. H.

Steamer Constellation from Chicago
to Detroit, Monday, June 16th 1845

Dear Friends.

In my last I gave you some account of St. Louis. It has a population of 40,000 and is rapidly increasing. It is undoubtedly destined to become one of the greatest cities of the west. Its position gives it great advantage. It is made a kind of depot. Most of the productions of the Uper Mississippi, the Missouri, the Illinois and many smaller streams are landed and reshipped from St. Louis. It has also an

extensive country around. This season they are building 1500 buildings. Several new churches are going up. In all these western cities the Catholic are building splendid edifices. Two *magnificent* churches are nearly finished in St. Louis. One built *entirely* from the contributions of the poorer working class. The Catholic in this valley have an agent, a man of great skill and executive talent who superintends the erection of all these public edifices, and the work is done to stand for ages. The protestant influence in St. Louis is strong, but their churches &c. seem weak compared with the Catholic. The site of the city is very advantageous. It rises from the river by a gentle inclination. The streets are of tolerable width and numbered from the water back, as is the custom in these western cities. The dwelling houses are more elegant than in Cincinnati. They have no public buildings save a court house, and all their edifices are vastly inferior to those of New England cities. They have a medical college, though rather in its infantile state. You know the city was originally settled by the French. They were very jealous of the American settlers, and at first had but little to do with them but their coming, so increased the value of their lands that they became reconciled, though they resided in a section by them-selves; but they are fast wasting away. Their portion of the city, now having a poor appearance, is fast giving away, and filling up with a different population. You see there now however, their original dwellings appearing rude and antique. You would be astonished to stand on the levee, or wharf, which is a pavement like that I mentioned at Pittsburg Cincinnati, &c. and see the business that is transacted. Though at this season the water is extremely low, many of the larger boats have ceased to run, and fewer people are traveling by reason of the heat, yet I counted no less than *40* steamboats lying there all preparing to start at most within a few days.

I do not remember what I told you in my last. I was much prostrated by the heat of the week before reaching St. Louis. But there I recruited much. We had also on Sabbath night a heavy shower. So that some of the streets on our return from meeting were literally filled with water.

Monday night as I told you, I took leave of my good friends in St. Louis and proceeded up the river to Quincy. On board I became acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Ezra Styles of Philadelphia who will probably be settled in the Northern Liberties in Philadelphia and who is a very agreeable companion. Before dark Monday we passed Alton, where Lovejoy was shot. I saw the house where his press was placed and the spot where he fell, but the Curse of God seems to rest on this place. Since that time, it has had no prosperity. The stone ware houses are empty, its prospects seem blighted, and as I mentioned in my last, the people feel it so sensibly, they do not wish the subject alluded to. We passed the *mouth* of the Missouri, mingling its muddy waters with the pure Mississippi but they do not readily unite; for a great distance you see the two kinds of water, and even down as far as St. Louis on the opposite shore I was told the Mississippi waters chose to roll alone. But the muddy Missouri is more palitable and healthy than the Ohio or Mississippi. All these waters however have a purgative effect, especially upon Northerners. As I told you we reached Quincy about noon having passed some flourishing villages which I will not describe. Here I joined brother Thurston and spent a few hours, took a bowl of bread and milk at the Reverend Mr. Foots, and rode with him to see his city. It is a beautiful town of about 5000 inhabitants. It has a city government, mayor &c. Mr. Foot has a large congregation, one of the finest churches I have seen, and Mr. Thurston told me he had not heard any where such sweet music. Their leader is a man who was once associ-

ated with Lowell Mason. Most of the buildings here are brick as at St. Louis and most of the western towns, there being abundance of clay almost every where, and the whole country being full of lime rock. Brick at Quincy can be purchased for $2 per thousand. Here is the seat of the mission institute which was under the care of Dr. Nelson the author of the Cause and Cure of Infidelity. He was a great and good man. He died about a year since. The soil about Quincy is excellent. I became acquainted with a Mr. Wood of Quincy who interested me much. Some 24 years ago, a poor boy with his pack on his back, he left the interior of New York, and wandered into the west. At length he came to Quincy and settled down. He has now a most magnificent farm of 800 acres — one field of excellent wheat of *100* acres, another of 35, an elegant house &c, worth in all at least 50,000$. Mr. Wood is mayor of Quincy and went with us from there to Galena and gave us much information of the country &c. This town is pleasantly situated on high ground and resembles a New England village more than any I have recently seen. The land about Quincy is what is called high Prarie. We left this place after I had been there a few hours, and of course I could see and learn but little. We embarked on board the *Time*. Here again was a motley company, some ½ dozen clergymen several lawyers I think, and the worst set of gamblers I have seen in all my tour. There are companies of these miserable vagabonds constantly traveling on these boats, to gamble, steal rob, murder &c. One of this company was a young man of a desperate appearance, who, I think would not hesitate to plunge a dagger to any man's heart. He had a brandy flushed face, and a fearful eye, which often fell upon us and almost made us shudder. All day long, until 10 or 11 o'clock at night he would gamble with any one he could engage, while piles of money increased and wasted continu-

ally, and tumblers of brandy and rum, etc. disappeared often. This was all in open day in the gentlemen's cabin. One of these fellows, who said he was a member of the Senate of Illinois, became so beastly drunk that he was disgusting in the extreme. You know in passing up the river, we pass Nauvoo. Here we intended to stop and it cost us great self denyal not to do so, but we had been detained so much, were so anxious to get on, especially to meet with a convention at Detroit this week, we therefore concluded to push on, and very unfortunately we passed this strange city in the night, and virtually saw nothing of it. We did indeed go on shore, and run up on the bank, and saw by star light what we could. They have a population of ten thousand miserable inhabitants, though the city has a beautiful site, but is destined undoubtedly to waste away and as a Mormon city to come to nought. The Temple is unique and extremely beautiful, but the roof, spire, etc. and the inner work is all of wood, and in a few years will decay, and leave the ruins, a monument of fanatical folly. The citizens are poor, but strain every nerve to complete the temple. There are very strong prejudices vs. them by the citizens of the state, and they are not without foundation e. g. they seem to regard themselves as the chosen people, and justify themselves in any measures to accomplish their end. They have had the ballance of political power and have made havoc in elections. When I see I will tell you more of the Mormons.

Yours &c.

HAYES

Steamer Constellation 16, 1845

Dear Friends.

We are now halting to take in passengers at a pleasant little village called Racine on the borders of Lake Michigan It is now 4 P. M. and we have passed two fine villages be-

fore this. The day is delightful the lake as smooth as a river, our boat quiet. A fine company of passengers. Some 20 ministers on their way to Detroit, among whom are some with whom I was acquainted in the east, now missionaries in Iowa. Dr. Lindsley, President of Marietta College, Rev. Mr. Walker author of "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation", and many others whom I cannot name particularly. We have really a pleasant company, and profitable intercourse.

But I will go back. We failed of seeing Nauvoo, but the country above soon became delightful. In the morning we touched at Burlington and went ashore there, and there our feet pressed the soil of Iowa. This is a very flourishing village and in it is settled one of the Iowa band, that went out from the Andover Seminary some two years since.[1] Here I would remark, all these young men who practised so much self denyal and who continue to do so, are accomplishing a great work, and will should they live, enjoy the prosperity and luxuries of one of the most rapidly growing countries in the world. I had no idea of [the] beauty of the uper Mississippi. We have passed some small praries stretching almost as far as the eye could reach, and as green as the sweet fields of New England. Then again, the land would rise in gentle undulations, sometimes covered with large trees, sometimes scattered like an orchard, and often in clumps as to render what seemed to be boundless fields peculiarly delightful. The soil of these gentle hills and undulations is not so strong as the bottoms, yet with cultivation would be very productive. A few years ago the Indians possessed all this territory, and were in the habit of burning over these grounds to keep out the underbrush, to facilitate their hunting. This process has given to vast regions the appearance

[1] Mr. Horace Hutchinson was at this time stationed at Burlington. In 1846 he died and was succeeded by William Salter.— THE EDITOR.

of having been partially cleared. Thus in passing up the river for miles and miles we saw the most beautiful regions, but without scarce an inhabitant. Yet the population is increasing with astonishing rapidity. In some counties where 7 years since scarce a white man breathed the air, now are *thousands* with flourishing villages and productive farms. I surveyed the country as well as I could for at least 1500 miles on these western rivers, without having my idea of the west at all realized, but on this upper Mississippi it is really charming. Just at night the next day after leaving Quincy we reached Davenport some 200 miles above. Here is Fort Armstrong on an Island. Davenport on one side and Stephenson[2] on the other. And without exageration it is one of the most delightful views I have ever seen. The idea that such enchanting scenery should exist around such flourishing villages in a region which I had always thought of as covered with dense forests and inhabited by savages, probably enhance the view. The land looks like a garden. The houses are built with taste. Several wealthy families reside there, and there I met with C. B. Smith whom I lost in New York. He is supplying another of the Iowa Band who is going to New England I presume for a wife. The site on which this village is built, indeed the whole section was given to one La Clare a half breed Indian and he now is the proprietor of the region.[3] He has a fine farm on which he lives, good buildings, a flourishing young orchard &c. As we were stopping there, we saw quite an elegant buggy waggon drawn by a very large white horse coming towards us containing but one individual. Our friend Wood told us

[2] The town of Stephenson later changed its name to Rock Island.— THE EDITOR.

[3] This reference is to Antoine Le Claire, one of the founders of the town of Davenport and for more than a quarter of a century an important factor in its development. He was of French-Canadian and Indian parentage.— THE EDITOR.

it was La Clare with whom he was acquainted and proposed to introduce us. We accordingly went to the street and was made acquainted with the Lordly proprietor. He is I think the largest man I ever saw, and reminded me of the picture of Daniel Lambert, very black for an Indian, though he facetiously remarked that he was the first white man that ever settled there west of the Mississippi. He is quite an intelligent man and feels a great interest in his village. This has already become a place of resort by gentlemen and ladies from New Orleans, and other places of the South. It is also fixed upon as the seat of Iowa College.[4] It will never become a place of great business as Galena has so far got the start but it will become a place of residence for men of wealth &c. Davenport took its name from a gentleman of the same name, an Englishman, who came to this country, in the last war and deserted to the Americans, at length wandered up the Mississippi, became engaged in the fur trade, amassed a large fortune, and is now settled in affluence on rock island near the village of his name. He is probably worth $200,000. Another French gentleman here is worth $100,000. You will thus get an imperfect idea of this place. But we soon passed on and bid farewell to this lovely spot of which I have given you scarce an idea. In half an hour the clouds rolled up and the rain descended and as we were crossing the rapids, and it being somewhat difficult, we lay by, and continued there all night. The rain descended in torents. The lightning and thunder were terrific and our boat was struck which knocked some of the men down but injured no one. The fluid it was said, ran down an iron rod passed out following a bolt and shattered one of the planks. This evening I noticed the gamblers were missing. The Captain told us he had never known a boat

[4] Iowa College was founded at Davenport but was removed to Grinnell in 1859.— THE EDITOR.

struck before. A kind Providence preserved us. Early the next morning we passed on. The country continued delightful — now and then a dwelling. Prospectively we could see a teeming population. We passed a few rafts of logs and boards &c. The Captain told us a few years since he purchased lumber in St. Louis and shipped it to Galena. Now lumber to the amount of 40 or 50,000,000 was shipped down the Mississippi from its head waters. Galena is situated on the Fever River about 6 miles from its entrance into the Mississippi. It is a small deep river and the most crooked one I have ever seen. In looking ahead it was often impossible to tell in what direction we must go. Yet our boat glided slowly along as if directed by some magic hand, till we saw the *city* of Galena its narrow street on the water and its pretty private dwellings looking down from the cliffs upon us. This place contains a population of from 4 to 5000, and is rapidly increasing. Some how I felt at home as I do almost any where now. We deposited our baggage immediately and entered our names for Chicago, the stage leaving at two o'clock in the morning. We then started off to call on the Reverend Mr. Kent, but he was gone with his wife to Chicago. But I was surprised to see standing by the door two of the Iowa band one of whom was my intimate friend Wm. Salter of New York.[5] We went in and saw some young ladies who were teaching a High School. And here I learned that another old friend Magoun[6] of Baltimore was here teaching. He is a fine fellow a poet, &c. When he saw me he presented a picture for a painter.

[5] Mr. William Salter came to the State with the "Iowa Band" in 1843 and was at first stationed at the Forks of the Maquoketa. In 1846 he followed the Reverend Mr. Hutchinson at Burlington where he served for sixty-four years. His death occurred in 1910.— THE EDITOR.

[6] Mr. George F. Magoun after filling pastorates in Galena, Davenport, and Lyons, became President of Iowa College at Grinnell, in 1865, and served in that capacity until 1884.— THE EDITOR.

I have written these two letters with men all around me. Some telling stories, some leaning on my table discussing theology, some talking of this and some of that. So you will appreciate the disadvantages under which I write. You must mark all illegible places and reserve just as many questions as you can think of to ask. I begin and end all my letters in the middle. At most they are only meagre notes.

Yours,

S. H. H.

Steamer Constellation Tues. June 17, 45

Dear Friends.

I left you in my last at Galena. This is the county seat of Jo Daveiss County in the northern part of Illinois. The topography of the country is extremely uneven. There is actually no room for a town on anything like a level. One dense street on the water, where the business is done is the one through which we first passed. Here every sort of merchandise is exposed for sale. As this is in the region of the lead mines you see large quantities of the metal piled up for shipment. Our boat took in freight and returned on its passage to St. Louis immediately, not remaining more than a few hours. As our time was short, we made the most of it. As I told you in my last, we were soon surrounded with New England friends. We started off to visit the "diggins" as the lead mines are called. This land belongs to the Government; it has not yet been put into the market, and any individual, who is disposed, goes upon any unoccupied portion and "claims" it, and immediately commences digging, and for the right, he is to pay a certain percentage to the Government, which I learn is very hard to collect. As there is no sure indication, where the mineral is to be found, they commence digging any where. Hence the country is every where full of shafts, some sunk five feet, and

some 100 feet, some soon affording mineral and some never yielding an ounce. Some persons expend a vast amount of money and labour, and give it up as a ruinous speculation, others make a fortune. One man and his sons had expended a great amount of money and labour in vain, and were just ready to give up in dispair. The old man said "This is the last keg of powder we will ever burn". And some say it was the last blast in the very apex of their dispair, that opened to one of the richest mines in the region, and made them wealthy. Thus many succeed and many do not. These shafts are about as large as a common well, dug and secured by wood from caving in, and the mineral is raised by a windlass. These shafts are numerous and entirely open, so that one is in danger of falling in. The lead region is very extensive, perhaps reaching 50 or 60 miles. We went to one of the furnaces. Here the crude mineral is subjected to an intense heat. The pure metal runs off and is cast into moulds containing about 75 lbs and this is the state in which it is shipped. It requires little skill to work these mines, and thousands are engaged in the operations. We were by this time very weary, and returned to the village ½ mile distant. Mr. Thurston had engaged to preach in the evening. There is a flourishing Presbyterian church of more than 200 members. A Methodist Society and a Catholic. There is now a very good moral atmosphere here, though it has been a very wicked place. Murder and robbery once were common. In one instance a *woman* shot down in the streets the murderer of her father who was shot in the same way by a man. After tea, we called on Thos. Drummond Esq. brother of Rev. I. D. of Lewiston, Maine, whose native town was Bristol, Maine. Here we had a very pleasant call, and met one of our fellow passengers by the name of Walker, whom I have not yet mentioned. He is a lawyer of Illinois was a candidate for United States Senator and was de-

feated by the Mormons. He was an interesting companion, a Kentuckian, who, disgusted with slavery emancipated his negroes, and fled to a free state. I went to call on some acquaintances made on the boat from Evansville to St. Louis, and spent a part of the evening. As I had taken my final farewell of them at St. Louis they would hardly believe it was I whom they saw. Of course I called on the young lady from Kentucky at the Reverend Mr. Drew's[?] the Methodist Presiding Elder. But I could stay but a little time and again shook the parting hand with them all, and hastened to the church but did not hear only a portion of the sermon as I told brother Thurston I could hear him at home, but might never visit Galena again. Here at the close of the services I was introduced to some three or four Maine men, one of whom Budd Parsons, was from Bangor, and spent a Sabbath at Frankfort when I was unable to preach a few weeks since. Thus you see we meet New England people every where, and I have seldom felt that I was among strangers. By this time I should have been in bed, but the enthusiastic Magoun wished us to see Galena by moonlight and we wandered away an hour with him. The evenings are charming. Magoun says far more beautiful than ever in New England. We had a most interesting walk. Then went to our hotel and at about 11½ o'clock went to bed. At half past one we were aroused from a sweet slumber, to pack ourselves into a stage coach. We did so, there were 9 adults and a child inside and one or two outside. The roads were bad. We traveled at the rate 3½ miles, often getting out to walk over mud holes, often jolted out of our senses in passing the *corderoys* or ridges. We were now crossing the rolling prairies. The roads of course are made any where. When one is worn out, they make a new track. We rode some five hours, and then stoped to breakfast and to change horses. This was a very *convenient* establishment,

the barn, stable, and hotel being in the same building, and kept, as I suppose by a physician, judging from some dozen medical books I saw. Our breakfast *comported* very well with the establishment. We had quite a variety, which I cannot now enumerate, and made a tolerable breakfast, though it was all indicative of a new and rude country. We were now passing through a kind of prairie. On the whole the region through which we passed is the most important part of Illinois The face of the country has three specific characters. The *heavy timbered,* the *barrens,* and the *prairie.* The barrens are a species of country having a mixed character uniting forest and prairie. They are covered with scattered oaks, rough and stunted in their appearance, interspersed with patches of hazel, brushwood and tough grass. This appearance led the early explorers to regard it as unproductive. It is ascertained however that these "barrens" have as productive a soil as can be found in the western states, healthy, more rolling than the prairies, and abounding in good springs. Every thing considered, these barrens are *better* adapted to all the purposes of farming and changes of the seasons, than the deeper and richer mould of the prairies. In closing this letter I cannot finish what I have to say of the face of the country. At one time we see the dense forest, at another the barrens, at another savannahs stretching into prairies, into boundless prairies without a tree or hill or any thing to relieve the eye, or the idea of loneliness. No man can have a correct impression of these western prairies without seeing them. We rode two days and two nights stopping only to change horses and to get refreshment, all the way from Galena to Chicago, travelling over these varieties I have mentioned. Twelve years ago these beautiful regions were the sole possessions of the red man, now they present the most beautiful, the most fertile, and naturally the most attractive regions I

have ever seen, and here and there you pass through large and flourishing villages, see school houses and churches, factories, large farms, splendid fields of corn and grain &c. On the Rock river for some 50 miles, the country is unsurpassed. Rockford is a beautiful village on this river. Elgin farther on on Fox river is another delightful place and what astonishes you is, a few years ago not a white man dwelt there.

But this is not true of all Illinois. Perhaps the northern part is the most attractive. The whole state is made up mostly of the level lands and in the portion I have passed over and spoken of as I have, there are many drawbacks. The market is *distant,* though wheat is worth as much at Detroit as in Western New York. The population is sparse, the luxuries of life are few, houses poor, though in the villages they are elegant *sometimes.* The roads are poor. Fever and ague sometimes prevail. Schools are *not,* or are indifferent. One generation must die before this garden of America shall be radiant with gospel light, and strong in every department of desirable prosperity. It would be a paradise *if* — But I can give you only a general idea. Were I not expecting to see you I should be much more minute. I am not in my study. Some 20 men are holding a convention on the boat and discussing matters while I write.

Yours,

S. H. H.

Steamer Constellation June 18, 1845

Dear Friends. I have used up all my large paper which I thought would hold more than I could write, and I doubt not has held more than you could read. The truth is, I am prolix, but how can I condense. I have no tallent at letter writing as Elmira and Archibald have, but I trust they will make allowances. If you will know where I *now* am, you

will find it by turning your eye down on the western shore of Lake Huron till you come to Thunder Bay. We have a stiff breeze from the South, yet I have felt nothing like sea sickness. We have just risen from our dinner table and the passengers are lounging and picking their teeth. We fare altogether too sumptuously on these boats. I have seldom sat down to a dinner where there has not been on the table some six or eight kinds of meat, e. g. roast pig, beef, boiled ham, corned beef, tongue, roast turkey. All of these and more were on our table to day, which with the condiments, and three or four kinds of pie ought to satisfy an alderman. I have little relish for these rich dinners. Something more simple would better suit my palate. This is the style on all these western boats, and when you have paid your passage you are at liberty to gormandize as much as you please. There is besides a bar where fruit, and all kinds of liquors are sold. Then you may gamble, tell stories, sing songs, write letters, read books, discuss topics, or dream dreams. There is among the rules, one to this effect, that all games shall cease after 10 o'clock at night, that sleepers be not disturbed. I have seen no playing for money on this boat, and last night we had a sermon from the Reverend Dr. Lindsley President of Marietta College, and these card players very respectfully came in and listened attentively. I have told you something about our passengers. About 20 ministers, mostly going to Detroit to attend a convention of ministers there, the object of which is to consult on those things which pertain to the interests of religion in the West. Among these are Dr. Lindsley above mentioned who was once settled over Park Street, Boston. The Reverend Mr. Stephens (I may not spell it right) who came to Mackinaw in 1827 as a teacher among the Indians and was afterwards a missionary among them till the white settlers took possession of the country and the Savages were driven away.

The Reverend Mr. Kent of Galena, who went there in 1829, and for 10 years preached in a log house for a church had scarce a Christian to hold up his hands, once succeeded in getting a few professors together for a prayer meeting, but could not for some years collect them again, who himself taught his Sunday School, preached and did every thing in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation; but who now has a fine stone church, a large congregation, more than 200 communicants and the prospect before him of usefulness, and happiness in his work. He is not a great but a good man. There are two brothers by the name of Wright, who also have a brother a missionary among the Senica Indians. One of these came out here a farmer, but having a strong mind and seeing the desolation around him hung up his hoe and harrow, studied, went to Lane Seminary and is now a very useful minister. There are several who came here with the first settlers, and have toiled amidst every privation till they have seen villages schools and churches grow up around them, but who have spent the energies of their youth and some in the very prime of life are compelled to leave their fields, and seek to renovate their health. Some are going east to beg a few hundred dollars to help build a house of worship. One young man an old friend of mine, born and brought up in the city of New York now labouring in Iowa, living in a log cabin, in which is a store, kitchen, sleeping rooms, study &c. a few rough board partings, but what is said and done is heard over the whole, and yet he is contented, and has no thought of leaving his field. He is a fine scholar and a polished gentleman. He says he cannot marry because he has no where to live. He is going to New York but intends to come back in a month, and his great object is not simply to see his friends but to get a little aid in building a church He is only 23 years of age, and there is a moral grandeur in his

enterprise which in my memory already gilds his name with a precious immortality. I would rather have a friend of mine thus employed than to see the honours and emoluments of this world showered upon him. He is only one of many, and now what motive can they have but the good of their fellow men and the glory of God? They have no money, no honour, for who publishes their work unless some traveller like myself may chronicle a page of their history. No, they will live unknown and die unregretted, save by a few — nought but the green grass may mark their graves, yet angels will watch their sleeping dust, and in the hierarchy of heaven they will wear their honours and their crowns. The name of the one of whom I have particularly spoken is Wm. Salter. There is another of a kindred spirit now going to Buffalo for a wife. An old classmate and chum of mine, son of the late Judge Hill of Phippsburg Maine is far up in Iowa, and when I last heard from him, he was in his shirt sleaves! himself digging a cellar and building him a house with his own hands. There is a young man on board by the name of Fletcher, recently married and late of the Mission Institute Quincy Illinois who is on his way to Boston to offer himself to the American Board. They are a very unpretending, but a very interesting couple, ready to go where the Lord of the Harvest may send them. But I will not dwell thus on individuals. I cannot give you anything like an adequate idea of these men, and their labours. They are not men of small caliber, no, they would shine had they time to study and the means of procuring books etc. They lament it in one view, but in another quietly submit. Instead of sitting down among the luxuries of life, and retiring to their quiet study, they are bounding over the prairies on horseback, buffeting the cold unbroken winds of winter, fording streams or building rafts with their own hands to float across. Mr. Stevens told me he had

made many a raft by picking up stuff, and tying it together with wythes, cut with his pen-knife. Salter told me he had started once to attend a meeting, and had to cross the Mississippi. There were 7 of them and one lady in the boat, which unexpectedly proved to be leaky. The wind was high, they had nothing to bail the boat with; they could have little hope of getting across, and the wind and waves made the danger almost equally great in attempting to change their course back. All this time the husband of the lady stood motionless, but not thoughtless on the shore, saw the danger, but unable to lift a finger for their help. They however succeeded in returning in safety. The gentleman on shore himself a missionary, unable to utter a word, could only take them by the hand. A gentleman from Rochester New York told us that the wife of a missionary came there for medical advice, and while there her disease became worse and she died, while her husband toiling in his poverty could not get money to visit her and he saw her no more. Thus you see some of the vicissitudes of missionary life. The country is beautiful and will one day make such tales sound like the chronicles of *our* early history, yet now they have all the keeness of reality. I must however hasten on. On the boat we have a committee to regulate devotional exervises. We have preaching in the evening. Mr. Thurston is to preach this evening if it is not too rough. The wind is high. Off Saginaw bay, it is often very boisterous, and I learn that no where is it more rough and dangerous than sometimes on these lakes. I have not the least feelings of sea sickness, though many of the passengers by their uncouth attitudes indicate some uneasiness. Yesterday a convention was organized on the boat to discuss any matter that might come before us. The principle topic was the propriety of establishing a paper at Chicago or some

place in the west to be the organ of these western churches. To day we had some discussion as to its name. I however went into my state room and took a nap.

You perceive I have not noticed a part of our tour. I left you somewhere on the prairies. We rolled slowly along. I hung my hat on my cane, put on my cap, and slept what I could. I took many naps in this way, but I was glad as we approached the end of our journey, though I enjoyed much of the beauties of the prairie land. The flowers are brilliant but not so abundant as I expected. I presume they are more numerous and beautiful in the southern prairies. About sunset we saw Chicago. We were travelling over a perfect level and the city did not seem two miles distant, but to our surprise we found it six or eight miles distant. At length we drove up and landed at the American Temperance House kept by Brown and Garley[?] and we found it a fine establishment. It was nine o'clock when we took tea after which we went out to call on a family from Bangor. I was conscious I had overdone myself, and the next morning I felt really sick. I could hardly sit up, but I arose and dressed, and went below, thinking it very probable I was on the eve of a fever. I asked the landlord if there was any physician boarding in the house, and he soon introduced [to] me Dr. Pitney, a fine looking man of about 48. He went to my room and I found he was a homeopathic physician. He had however for 20 years been an *allopath,* and I thought his infinitesimal doses would not kill if they did not cure. He gave me two powders and I went to bed ordered some gruel, and waited the result. I slept and in the P. M. felt better, went down to tea, and in the evening went out to meeting, and the next morning was quite well. Dr. Pitney would receive nothing for his services, but gave me a lot of powders to take if necessary. Monday morning I went out

to see the city. It contains about 1200 inhabitants[7] and 11 years since, a few log houses was all that existed there. It is situated on a perfect level apparently, and it is so as far as the eye can reach. It is spread over considerable extent and there is ample room to build a London. I learn they can have no cellars, unless in some way they keep out the water. The buildings are mostly of wood, and in this respect are unlike the more western cities. Many of the houses are small, and it looks like a place of sudden growth, though there are some substantial dwellings. They need more capitalists, and no doubt they will be drawn in. Probably in a few years Chicago will be connected on the one hand with the Mississippi by railroad, and on the other with Lake Erie in the same way. A regular line of splendid steamboats ply between this place and Buffalo besides the propeller and sailing vessels. Chicago river furnishes a fine harbour, deep enough at its mouth for any vessel that will wish to lie there. Some of the boats are magnificent. We embarked on the Constellation at 8 A. M. We touched at several flourishing villages that have sprung up by magic on the lake shore, such as Southport, Racine, with 2000 inhabitants, Milwaukee with 10,000 population which 8 years since had scarcely a dwelling. We spent an hour here. This is a fine site for a city, it is elevated and uneven and has a pretty and flourishing appearance. It was just dark when we left. At two o'clock in the morning we entered the straits of Michillimackinac and in half an hour went on shore at the town Mackinaw. At this hour it was all daylight. In this high latitude the period between the evening and morning twilight is very short. This place has near 1000 inhabitants. Here a mission among the Indians

[7] Mr. Hayes evidently here means 12,000. The population of Chicago in 1845, according to Hatheway and Taylor's *Chicago City Directory and Annual Advertiser for 1849–50,* was 12,088.— THE EDITOR.

was established in 1824. We saw the mission houses and the church. The Indians are now scattered. They meet here in September to the number of 6 or 7000 to receive their government appropriations. I saw one camp into which I entered and sat down by their fire. The covering and flooring was of rushes and was very comfortable. We saw a store, selling "Indian curiosities" but they were so dear I purchased nothing. There is here a beautiful fort called Fort Makinaw, but it was too early to visit it. There are two companies of soldiers here, but I presume, fort soldiers and all are of little use. This is 70 miles from lake Superior. The sun rose before we left and the morning gun was fired before 4 o'clock. The scenery here is interesting.

S. H. H.

Detroit June 20, 1845

Dear Friends.

After leaving Makinaw, we had a pleasant run down Lake Huron, and yesterday morning when the sun arose we were quietly gliding through the river St. Clair. Here we stopped and I went on shore at a place called Newport, a village on the Michigan shore — now and then on her majesty's side was a building, but little improvement however. At Newport they are building two large steamboats. The Detroit people build here somtimes, and the boats are of no ordinary character. We soon passed in to Lake St. Clair. It is about 24 miles across to Detroit. The morning was lovely and we spent it in talking and writing &c. Had a meeting and expressed our thanks to the Captain for his courtesy in giving us the entire controll of the cabin. We made rapid progress and were soon in sight of Detroit. It presents a pleasant view from the water. The steeples, water works, which are in a very large tower, and large

blocks, give it a dignified appearance though the population probably does not exceed 1300.[8] As we passed up to the room of the committee to provide for strangers, we saw now and then a military man. There is a fort in the neighbourhood. A major in military costume escorted us to our lodgings. We stop in a pleasant family, Dr. Whiting's, brother of the missionary Whiting at Jerusalem or vicinity, and cousin of Mrs. Winslow and several other missionaries wives. We soon found ourselves at home. In the P. M. we went to Dr. Duffield's church to meet with the convention and the first person we met was Mr. Brace Editor of one of the Philadelphia papers with whom we travelled from New York to Philadelphia. Here we met Dr. Stowe, Dr. Beecher and more than 100 clergymen from *this* portion of the west, tho' there are delegates from almost the whole country. It is certainly an imposing body. You may be assured these home missionaries are among the most noble men our land produces, and the work they are accomplishing, will tell upon the destinies of this country in all its interests. As Dr. Stowe remarked "when I came here and saw such a body of ministers, young and vigorous, and showing in their countenances so much moral and intellectual strength, I thought, after all, the west is not so poorly supplied with the ministry", but again, he added "when I look upon *this* one and *that*, and remember that the nearest minister he has on one side is 40 miles and on another 60 miles, on another 80 and on another clear across the globe, I see the destitution, the need of more ministers". Various topics of interest have been discussed. The importance of preaching distinctly the doctrines of the bible, of establishing a book concern here in the west for the purpose of supplying the wants of the increasing population here. The harmonious

[8] Mr. Hayes probably means 13,000. The population of Detroit was 9102 in 1840 and 21,019 in 1850.— THE EDITOR.

character of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism and its adaptation to the west. The fact was stated that in Michigan all the churches of these two denominations form one general convention &c. The subject of church music has been introduced, also the best kind of hymn books. The importance of an educated ministry has been urged. Drs. Beecher, Stowe and Phelps occupied one whole evening on this subject and their addresses were very eloquent. There is a society for the promotion of college education in the West, which, though it has not been in existence but a year and a half yet it has received and disbursed more than 15000$. It should be remembered that colleges in the west are unlike institutions of that name in the east, here they are more like our theological seminaries. The truth is, that most of the young men in these colleges are preparing for the ministry. But you will see in the New York Evan[gelist?] which I hope you keep well read, a report &c.

I am much pleased with Detroit. I should like it as a place of residence. The people seem intelligent and very hospitable. There is a strong eastern influence. General Cass resides here. He is rich, an income of $12,000 per annum. I saw his daughters riding in an open waggon alone, though they keep an elegant carriage. Mrs. Cass is a pious woman. I have met here Judge McLean who is holding court. Rev. Thurston rode with him two days and nights. He became much interested in him and so have I, though my acquaintance is slight. He is certainly one of the noblest, and most benignant looking men I have ever seen. I think him a great and good man. He is extensively thought of here as a candidate for the next presidency. He is a Methodist and *they* would go for him en masse in many places. I stepped into court. They have shrewd lawyers. There are no public buildings in Detroit. The court house, I think I have before remarked is the principle building in

these western cities. Sandwich just opposite on her majesty's side, is an inconsiderable place, though the intercourse is somewhat free on both sides. To day (Saturday) we go to Adrian in the country and spend the Sabbath [Part of leaf missing here] Mrs.[?] David T's[?] daughter whom she saw last summer.

Yours,

S. H. H.

Adrian Michigan June 23d 1845

Dear Friends.

Seven weeks to day I left Maine and I now feel anxious to return. I shall be absent one Sabbath more, possibly two. Were it not for my duties in Frankfort I would gladly spend some weeks more but I think of my people, who is breaking to them the bread of life? Who is there to visit the sick and dying? Who cares for the children the sweet lambs of the flock? These inquiries make me unhappy, yet I trust you have been supplied. I hope to return with renovated health, yet I have learned some wisdom. I hope ever hereafter to be more careful. Assure the people that their dearest interests are mine also.

We left Detroit on Saturday morning 21st via railroad to Ypsilanti 30 miles distant. We traveled through a level and not very interesting country. The railroad is very tolerable but not like the east. Most of the railroad stock in Michigan is state property and there is some probability it will be sold to meet state liabilities. This plan, or something similar seems to be on foot in several states, to pay off State debts. Ypsilanti is a flourishing town of 2500 population The country is level, the buildings are mostly small cottages but neat and having pleasant gardens attached to them. This was a marked feature. On the whole it is a pleasant and thriving place. Several elegant

churches. Here we took stage for Adrian distant 37 miles. A two horse stage with ½ dozen passengers. Stages travel very slowly, about 4 miles per hour. The roads not good, some *terrible* "corderoys". We passed through an interesting country. Whole forests and good farms though generally new. Some poor land but much superior soil. I never saw such fields of wheat. For 30 or 40 miles there seemed but little save wheat fields occasionally a field of corn. The frost here and in a large portion of this western country has entirely destroyed the prospects of fruit and greatly injured most other crops. The last frost was about four weeks since and on Saturday I saw groves and forest trees with dead leaves as though fire had been near them. The wheat will be a fair crop. I saw one field containing 80 acres of heavy rye. It was a splendid sight, but I was sorry to learn that the owner had a distillery and would turn it to poison. We had as travelling companions a lawyer from Waterloo Western New York and a gentleman from Brooklyn New York both of whom were very intelligent men. There are several villages of some note in each of which we stopped a short time, and it was necessary for our first horses went 22 miles before changing. Saline, which takes its name from Salt Springs in its vicinity has 1000 population. Tecumseh is another town of 2000 population. Clinton is a small town midway between Saline and Tecumseh. We reached Adrian about 7 ½ h. in evening and were soon at Mr. Philbrick's whose wife is a daughter [of] Rev. D. Thurston. Here we found a good home. They had given up the idea of seeing their uncle and the meeting was the more joyful for that reason. Adrian contains 2000 people. County Seat of Lennawee County. It is a place of considerable business. Mr. Philbrick is a shoe and leather dealer. The merchants here confine themselves to one sort of business as shoe and leather, dry goods, &c. This is a

great wheat market — 7000 bushels per day are sometimes brought in in a day, and they begin to market it as early as the last of August. Yesterday Sabbath I preached once and brother Thurston twice. They have a fine house, a large and as interesting a congregation as I have seen in my whole rout. The people dress with as much taste and are as refined in their manners as in any village in New England. I was particularly struck with intelligent cast of the people and the fact that they have come here to seek their fortune implies that they have some enterprise. Some dozen lawyers and one or two judges reside here. In the west it is common for all the lawyers in the county to reside at the County Seat. This morning (Monday) Mr. Philbrick took a fine carriage with a span of greys and drove us all about the village and some miles around. It is a fine country. The land is good, and will soon be in a high state of improvement. We saw many peach orchards, plum &c. This village will soon amount to 5 or 6000. But I must close. Harriet T[?] is very anxious to go to Maine but such is the state of her mothers health, it has such an effect on Harriet's nervous system it is not thought prudent for her to return home. The poor girl was very anxious to go. We have had a delightful visit and am now going to Toledo. I am at the depot writing — so goodby.

S. H. H.

Toledo Ohio, June 23, 1845

Dear Friends.

It is now evening. At noon to day, I hastily wrote a line, and without reading it threw into the Post Office. I sometimes think I should have written much better letters had they been designed for any eye, save that of my friends, who I know will over look all my defects. I have set down this evening with just nothing to write, and yet I keep

scribbling. One strong motive is, this week will end my privalege under the present mail dynasty, and I have a sort of disposition to get all out of "Uncle Sam." I can. Then I have got into such a habit of writing that I can hardly avoid taking my pen, *when I have nothing else to do.* And lastly you may suppose I have such a regard for Frankfort that the only relief I can find is, in writing these *elegant letters!* And with all this presure of motive, it would not be strange if I should contract such a habit of directing letters to "Archibald Jones Esq. P. M. Frankfort, Me." that I shall continue to do it for a great length of time after I reach home, and this will be the more likely in as much as you see it requires no *materials* to make a letter of. I imagined when you received my last *batch* of letters, I saw C. looking grievous things as her discernment could find nothing worthy of note and E. cheerfully excusing it all, yet thinking it a *little* strange, and A. impatient, finding relief in tuning his violin, and Mr. I. in his kind consideration, assigning many reasons, and Mrs. I. putting the best construction on it all, while no one will be so inconsiderate as to expose a sheet out of the circle. And of course no one else has any thing to excuse or blame. I hope you will all comfort yourselves with expectations of learning something more when I return. I have not heard one word from Frankfort since I left, only I saw to day in a New York paper that the fires were burning in the region of Bangor, and I remember a snow storm May 8.

You see from my date I am at Toledo, Ohio. This like all the other towns is about 12 years old, situated on the Maumee River which in this place is ¼ mile wide. The river is navigable 12 miles above to Maumee, which is in the neighbourhood of Fort Meigs, where General Harrison won some of his laurels. We cannot go there. This is the northern terminus of the Ohio and Erie canal, and of course a

sort of depot. Vast quantities of wheat are shipped from this place. There are two rail tracks from Adrian running in this direction, one to this place, and one to Monroe. At this time there is violent competition between them, so that the fare is only 25 cents 33 miles. In consequence of the competition and misrepresentation, some 20 passengers are waiting at Monroe 20 miles from this and must remain there for some days, while *we* go on in the morning. This people are very excitable. Anything will stir them up. At Adrian a circus was to exhibit this P. M. And all the A. M. you would see large two horse waggons, containing from 6 to 12 persons, men women children and *babies,* all going to the circus. They will scrape together every copper for this purpose. Mr. Philbrick told us they would bring a bushel of wheat or something else to get money to go in. We saw the crowd of boys following the carriages, like the rush after an engine when a town is burning. But there is apparently nothing like excitement in Toledo, though it contains about 2300 inhabitants. We have seen but few of them, we walked out after tea, went to the boat and selected our state rooms, looked at the ware houses, which are large. Saw a large quantity of "black walnut crotch", as it is called, which is a kind of quartered black walnut, now coming greatly into use for *veneering,* took a squint at the canal boats as they lay around, and then wandered off to look at the village. It looks *new* and *rough* for the most part, though there are many good dwellings and three good churches. The Reverend Wm. Beecher son of the old Dr. is preaching here. He has a new brick church not yet quite finished. The inside work being of black walnut. The Presbyterian church formerly owned a house but becoming unfortunately embarrassed, it passed out of their hands into the *Catholic's!* This will eventually become a place of some importance. A heavy work of grading is now going

on, where I should judge six acres are to be cut down to a level 6 or 8 feet and the earth all removed. This is to afford a convenient space for building stores and warehouses. The land is owned in New York, Rochester and elsewhere and the proprietors are thus making it *marketable*. I cannot speak of the moral and intellectual character of this place, but have however a less favourable opinion than of most other places of similar size. I should not fancy a residence here though I cannot say it would not be agreeable. We have very pleasant quarters. We are always taken for clergymen and eastern men, and generally treated with some considerable deference. We have a fine room two beds, but the weather is so warm we have ordered the feathers off. Our landlord is a pres. [Presbyterian?] and keeps a civil house. As we sit by our windows or lounge on our straw beds we are serenaded with sweet music from the boat. I learn there is a band on the U. S. Steamer in which we take passage, composed of the hands. They have played together for years and perform admirably. This is quite an attraction, I can assure you. If A. were here he would enjoy it. They have a huge brass instrument something on the principle of a Kent Bugle which is covered all over with keys and produces soft and excellent music with other instruments.

But my sheet is full, and that is my only guide in closing a letter. I begin and leave off any where. We have thought of going to Oberlin to set them right in their theology but have nearly given it up, and shall proceed directly to Buffalo.

Yours &c.

S. H. H.

Steamer United States Mouth of
Maumee river June 24, 1845

Dear Friends.

I have just been conversing with an intelligent fellow passenger, in relation to the canals in this western region, and as I have made some statements, which for want of proper information, were not *strictly* correct, I again encounter the jar of the boat, and attempt to write a line on this subject. The most westerly canal is that connecting Chicago with the Illinois river, about 12 miles below Ottawa, (to which point, Ottawa, this river is navigable only with high water, and thus connecting Chicago with the Mississippi. This canal near 100 miles long is not yet open, though the work is now going on, and will be completed without doubt.

The next canal is the Wabash and Erie Canal, extending from Toledo to Lafayette which has a population of 4000 a distance of 222 miles; 40 miles more will soon be completed to Covington. The Wabash is navigable to Lafayette when there is an ordinary stage of water. This canal has been in successful operation two seasons.

The canal called the "Miami extension", runs from Cincinnati, through the Miami valley, and forms a junction with the preceding, 60 miles from Toledo. This canal has been opened through to Toledo this week. It is called "the M. extension", from the fact that it has been extended from one point to another as means could be provided. This latter canal will greatly affect the Ohio and Erie canal, running from Portsmouth to Cleaveland. This latter is 309 miles in length, and of course some 80 miles longer than "the Miami Extension". By shipping directly from Cincinnati this distance is saved, and about the same distance upon the river, and besides, the expense of a reshipment, which is equal to the expense of 100 miles transportation.

I should have mentioned *before* this, the "White Water Canal" extending from Evansville Indiana to Covington, and there forming a junction with the Wabash and Erie. This is not yet completed, but will be in time, and will open one continuous line of canal more than 400 miles long, which will be the longest in the world. These canals and rivers are the veins and arteries which give life to this western world.

There are few railroads, one from Detroit to Jacksonburg I think, which will probably soon be continued to Chicago, in which case it will greatly effect the lake navigation. There is a track from Adrian to Toledo, and from Adrian to Monroe between which the competition is now so great that the fare is reduced to 25 cents. A Rail road was projected from Sandusky on Lake Erie to Toledo; the state chartered a company, and made them an appropriation of $200,000, with the expectation of course, that they would make investments, but they managed not to do so, but to use the states money, until they have expended the grant. The state will do no more, the works are now going to decay, and will, in all probability be abandoned. A rail road is chartered from Toledo westward, to strike the Mississippi. The charter once ran out, but was renewed last winter, and Mr. Whittlesey of Ohio is now East, endeavouring to get the stock taken up, at least some of it. So that, there is a line of rail road projected, extending from Portland Maine to Boston, Albany, Buffalo, along the shores of Lake Erie, and so on as above, across Michigan, Illinois to the Mississippi, and prospectively, thence westward, till its track shall be lost in the Pacific waters. From Cincinnati a rail road will soon be completed through to Lake Erie, and then the Queen City of the west will be little more than four days distant from the Queen of the East. All this I doubt not will soon be accomplished. And the fact, that it is, and will

be, all the work of a few years, and much of it in a country so new, strikes the mind with astonishment. But I have not time nor space to follow out the train of thought which is here suggested. All this is in the free states, while the slave states, like the pope at Rome, dare not encourage these improvements, or have not sufficient enterprise to make them, yet they look on with sullen silence, aware that their fate is sealed, without *free* labour yet determined to *stave* it off as long as possible. You may pick out something out of this, and if so I shall be glad.

Yours

S. H. H.

P. S. A rail road will probably be completed this season from Cincinnati to Sandusky — about 40 miles from Cincinnati are already completed and about the same distance from Sandusky. The contracts have been made for the remaining distance. Also a railroad from Sandusky to Mansfield is projected, about a dozen miles completed. Some day it will probably extend through to Columbus. But no man can calculate on the future condition of this country. Its progress must be rapid. You see here however that the intemperate zeal of 1835–7 produced an unhealthy prosperity here as in the east. They speak of the mania of 36' as they do in Maine but these internal improvements must go on, and with them the country.

&c.

S. H. H.

Steamer United States, 2 hours from Cleaveland
Wednesday June 25 th 1845 —

We left Toledo Tuesday at 9 A. M. and glided finely down the Maumee, to the sound of music. A mile below Toledo we passed a village of some 50 houses all dingy and half forsaken, where in speculating times, the land proprietors

determined to build up a place, but Toledo drew off the business and now it is going to decay. It was called Manhattan. Toledo is about 14 miles from the mouth of the river and the water in the lake there is so shallow, that the channel is staked out. We reached Sandusky City about 4 P. M. in a heavy shower, and the wind on shore before the shower raised the dust in the city to the resemblance of a dark cloud rolling in majesty over it. Here we remained two hours. Sandusky contains 2000 or 2500 inhabitants. It is situated on a limestone formation and they procure in digging their cellars stone for the erection of their houses. I counted 20 buildings of stone including 3 churches a court house &c. The court was in session and we stepped in a few minutes. There were 4 judges and many lawyers, all rather young. At Sandusky they have not had any rain before this shower, for 6 weeks. But there has recently been plenty of rain in the interior of Ohio, but not early enough, wholly to save what the frost did not destroy. I think I have mentioned that the fruit in Ohio as well as in some other states has been almost entirely cut off. Before the opening of the canal, goods were transported in waggons from this place to Cincinnati and St. Louis. It is the point nearest the Ohio. At Sandusky we waited for the cars and had quite an accession to our passengers. Among them is a Mr. Jackson, wife and daughter from Boston who have just come across from Cincinnati. On the boats we become acquainted without ceremony. As we were standing on the Hurricane deck Mr. Jackson with whom I had had a little conversation, called me to him and said "If you will tell me your name, I will introduce you to my daughter" all which was soon accomplished. They are very agreeable people, intelligent and accomplished. We touched at Huron. This is a pretty town of some 2000 population and like Toledo a great wheat market. This

wheat is generally purchased by eastern speculators. Huron is at the mouth of the river of the same name which is the only harbour, the banks of which are extended by two long piers out into the lake, as a kind of breakwater to prevent the sand from blocking up the entrance, or changing the channel. The river is so narrow, that our boat could hardly turn around. The stern stuck in one bank and the prow swung slowly around, while the band struck up a splendid tune and soon we were dashing over the Lake again. In the evening we had a spirited discussion, carried on mostly by Mr. T.[?] and a Mr. Freeman Episcopal clergyman of Sandusky on the subject of slavery, Mr. Freeman pro slavery. I would give a dollar for a copy to send you. The Episcopalian was more insolent and frothy than any man I ever heard talk. This morning we awoke at Cleaveland. This city contains about 12000 population rises by quite a steep ascent and then the ground is perfectly level. We went up before breakfast and ascended to the cupola of a house 75 feet and had a fine view. Here the river Ashtabula, I think, empties after meandering through a flat in the most beautiful serpentine course. Several steam boats many canal boats, and some sail vessels lay at the wharves. The place has a business aspect, but [will] be less important hereafter on account of the western canals and railroads. Cleaveland is prettily laid out, has some ornamental trees and shrubbery and affords a desirable place of residence.

The day passed pleasantly. We touched at several small places on the lake shore generally at the mouth of some stream. The country is pleasant generally not much cultivated to appearance, save at the villages, and on the whole, neither forbidding nor very inviting. At dark we reached Erie in the corner of Pennsylvania. By consulting the map you will see that Erie is built in round a projection, but the

water is shallow and they are making efforts to cut a channel for entrance across this point. Erie has 3700 population and is a flourishing place. Mr. T[?] stopped there to visit his brother in law Mr. Benson and will join me soon at Buffalo. I find that our friend Mr. Jackson has been to Congress and is also the dean of an orthodox church.

Thursday morning 26. The weather is delightful as it has been all our passage of the Lakes and we are now within a few miles of Buffalo.

Yours &c.

S. H. H.

THE INTERNAL GRAIN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES 1860–1890[1]

III

In the preceding studies on the internal grain trade of the United States from 1860 to 1890, attention has been given to the following aspects of the problem: first, the rapid expansion in grain production in the United States during this period; second, the geographic distribution of population and grain production showing the rapid expansion of the Middle West as the great surplus cereal producing region upon which the older sections of the country and the western nations of Europe had become increasingly dependent; third, the principal transportation routes connecting this region with the Atlantic and Gulf seaboards; and fourth, the growth of the great primary markets of the Middle West. The purpose of this study is to present a consideration of the movement of flour and grain from the primary markets of the Middle West to the Atlantic and Gulf ports.

In proceeding with a consideration of this aspect of the problem, attention should be called to the fact that while the Federal Government from the very beginning of the national period of our history collected a great amount of statistical information on the foreign commerce of the United States, which was published in a document known as the *Annual Report on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States,* the whole subject of the internal trade of the

[1] See the writer's first two studies on *The Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1860–1890,* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIX, pp. 196–245, 414–455.

United States was treated with general indifference and neglect down to the year 1872. In that year Congress, recognizing the need of detailed information bearing on the internal trade of the country which had already assumed vast proportions, passed an act providing for the appointment of a *Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* "to investigate and report on the subject of transportation between the interior and the seaboard". This Committee known as the Windom Committee, in its two volume report published in 1874, made the following pertinent observation:

> Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of our governmental policy touching the vast internal trade of the nation, is the apparent indifference and neglect with which it has been treated. While detailed information has been obtained by the Government, under customs and revenue laws, in relation to commerce with foreign countries, no means have been provided for collecting accurate statistics concerning the vastly more important interests of internal commerce. No officer of the Government has ever been charged with the duty of collecting information on this subject, and the legislator who desires to inform himself concerning the nature, extent, value, or necessities of our immense internal trade, or of its relations to foreign commerce, must patiently grope his way through the statistics furnished by boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and transportation companies. Even the census reports which purport to contain an inventory of the property and business pursuits of the people, and which in some matters descend to the minutest details, are silent with regard to the billions of dollars represented by railways and other instruments of internal transportation, and to the much greater values of commodities annually moved by them.[2]

The reasons for the failure of the Federal Government to provide for the collection of information on the internal trade of the United States prior to this time are contained

[2] *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. I, p. 8.

in the following statement by Joseph Nimmo, Chief of the Division of Internal Commerce, in the first annual report for 1876:

> At the time of the formation of the Federal Government the term *commerce* was generally understood to comprehend trade carried on by means of sailing-vessels employed in our coastwise trade and in our trade with foreign nations. The commercial interests of the country were at that time almost exclusively maritime, and our foreign commerce, on account of issues growing out of the war of Independence and of the war of 1812, attracted public attention much more than did the then comparatively small *internal commerce.*
>
> The omission to collect information in regard to internal commerce is also attributable to the fact that it has never been a source of national revenue, whereas the Government has largely drawn its means of support from duties laid upon imports from foreign countries.[3]

Nimmo stated further that "during the first century of its existence our internal commerce has assumed proportions vastly greater than those of our foreign commerce." He presented estimates showing that "the value of our internal commerce on railroads is *about sixteen times the value of our foreign commerce*", adding that the data on internal commerce related "only to railroads"; and that "if it were possible to ascertain the value of the commerce between the different sections of the country on the ocean and Gulf and on the lakes, rivers, and other avenues of transportation, we should probably find that the total value of our internal commerce is at least twenty-five times greater than the value of our foreign commerce." If tonnage rather than value be considered, Nimmo thought it probable "that the tonnage transported on the various avenues of internal commerce is *more than one hundred*

[3] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, pp. 8, 9.

times greater than the tonnage composing our foreign commerce."[4]

THE MOVEMENT OF FLOUR AND GRAIN FROM THE PRIMARY MARKETS OF THE MIDDLE WEST TO THE ATLANTIC AND GULF SEABOARDS

The movement of grain and animal products from the Middle West to the Atlantic and Gulf seaboards has always constituted the major and controlling interest in our internal trade. Of these two classes of food, grain commands primary consideration. A study of the production and distribution of grain shows that while the volume of corn production has always exceeded that of wheat — amounting as a matter of fact to more than all the other cereals (wheat, oats, barley, rye, and buckwheat) combined — as an article of commerce wheat has been of greater importance than corn. The reasons for this are: first, that wheat is the most important breadstuff, constituting the first article of necessity in the food consumption of the United States, England, and France, a very decided prejudice having always existed in these countries against the use of corn as a breadstuff; and, second, that wheat is especially well adapted to the requirements of commerce, possessing relatively less bulk and higher value and being less susceptible to injury in transportation than corn. Wheat has therefore occupied the leading place in the internal and export grain trade of the United States. Corn, lacking the commercial advantages of wheat, has been better adapted to the local markets for feeding purposes. It has therefore been raised primarily as an animal food reaching the ultimate consumer largely in the form of beef, pork, dairy, and poultry products. Even so, however, corn has constituted an important article of commerce, second only to wheat among the

[4] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, p. 9.

cereals. Thus while primary emphasis must be given to wheat in any study of the grain trade of the United States, considerable attention should also be accorded to corn. Oats rank third in importance; while barley comes next. Rye and buckwheat occupy positions of comparatively minor significance in the grain trade, buckwheat not being listed at all in the commercial reports of this period.

The region of surplus production, as already shown, was the North Central division, the proportionate share of grain contributed by this division amounting in 1859 to 46.7 per cent of the entire product of the nation which in 1889 was increased to 71.4 per cent of the whole product; while the per capita production of this division was practically doubled, being increased from 62.4 bushels in 1859 to 117.8 bushels in 1889.[5] Production ran far ahead of the rapid increase in population, thus giving rise to an annual product far in excess of local needs, for which there existed a growing demand in the East, the South, and the countries of western Europe.

The predominant position which the North Central division had thus achieved as the great surplus cereal producing region upon which the older sections of the country had become dependent, is shown by a statistical review of the production and distribution of grain for the year 1872. In that year the total volume of cereal production in the United States was estimated at 1,656,198,000 bushels. Of this amount the ten North Central States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska (the other two States of this division known as Dakota Territory until 1889 being omitted) produced 1,028,987,000 bushels, consisting of 156,228,00 bushels of wheat, 693,625,000 bushels of corn, 163,479,000 bushels of

[5] Schmidt's *The Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1860–1890,* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIX, p. 242.

oats, 10,092,000 bushels of barley, and 5,563,000 bushels of rye.[6] Wheat, as already noted, was the most important, commercially, of all the cereals. According to the estimates of the United States Department of Agriculture, the consumption of wheat in these States amounted to five bushels per capita,[7] which for a population estimated at 13,000,000 amounted to 65,000,000 bushels. The quantity of wheat used for seed was estimated at one and one-half bushels per acre, which for 13,811,008 acres under cultivation required 20,716,512 bushels. The estimated needs of this division, both for consumption and for seed, therefore amounted to 85,716,512 bushels which, subtracted from the total amount produced, left a surplus of 70,511,488 bushels available for shipment to the distant markets. Of this surplus the commercial reports show that 55,248,046 bushels were shipped east to the Atlantic seaboard States; 11,281,328 bushels were shipped south to the Gulf States; and 7,566,639 bushels were shipped north through Canada. The whole shipment amounted to 74,096,013 bushels which was destined for consumption in the Atlantic and Gulf States and the countries of western Europe.[8] It will be noted that the estimated

[6] *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. I, p. 12.

[7] "The requirement of wheat per capita is not the same in all sections. In the South there is a large proportion of corn used, by whites as well as negroes. There are localities in the cotton States where half the average rate of consumption of wheat for the whole country is not sustained. In Maryland and Virginia the proportion used is much larger than in Alabama or Mississippi. Taking the twelve States from Maryland to Texas together, while some use less than four bushels and others nearly five, four bushels may be deemed a full average. For Tennessee and Kentucky a barrel of flour per capita, or 4½ bushels, is assumed; and for the east, where little corn is used, and for the west, where wheat is so abundant and cheap, 5 bushels per head."—*Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1879, Appendix, p. 177.

[8] *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. I, p. 12.

"The portion of the country requiring a part of this surplus comprises New

shipments exceeded the estimated surplus by 3,584,525 bushels; but this does not affect materially the general view of the production and distribution of wheat as presented by these statistics.

The large quantity of corn produced in these ten States, amounting to 693,625,000 bushels, was used principally for the feeding of animals and for conversion into spirituous liquors, in which form it constituted a very large surplus product of the Middle West; hence the quantity of corn shipped to other States in the form of grain constituted but a small part of the actual surplus corn product. Oats were also used as an animal food and so contributed to the surplus products of this section largely in the form of animals and their products; though this cereal now began to assume increasing importance as a breadstuff. The barley and rye produced in the North Central division was also consumed largely by this division, but a small fraction being shipped to the seaboard States. The total quantity of grain produced by the ten North Central States as already noted, amounted to 1,028,987,000 bushels. Of this amount 815,965,574 bushels were consumed in the States of this division; 104,877,122 bushels were shipped to the Atlantic seaboard States; 33,783,526 bushels were shipped to the Gulf States; and 74,360,778 bushels were shipped to foreign countries. The huge consumption of grain in the North Central States, it should be emphasized, included not only

England, the Middle States, and the cotton States. New England produces nearly three-tenths of a bushel for each inhabitant; the Middle States grow about half the quantity necessary for a full supply, or 3⅓ bushels; the Southern Atlantic and Gulf States almost as much; and Kentucky and Tennessee are self-supporting with nearly 6 bushels. All the remaining States, except Nevada and Colorado, yield a surplus. This surplus, for consumption in 1878, was 11 4/5 bushels per capita in the corn-growing belt between Ohio and Kansas, 22½ bushels in the Lake belt, and 23 in the Pacific States and Territories, but fully 25 bushels in a year of large production in California.''— *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1879, Appendix, p. 177.

the quantity consumed as a breadstuff by the people, but also the quantity consumed as an animal food and shipped to other States and foreign countries in the form of animals and animal products.[9]

The dependence of the deficiency States of the North Atlantic division on the surplus States of the Middle West is set forth in an editorial on *The Production and Distribution of Breadstuffs* in *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* for June, 1869. The per capita wheat and corn production of the deficiency States as compared with that of representative surplus States is reviewed by this editorial as follows:

> Thus, while Pennsylvania produces corn and wheat to the value of $19 for each of its inhabitants, and New York to the value of $15, Massachusetts produces only $2¼ and Rhode Island $3½. Vermont produces $12, Maine $4½, New Hampshire $5, and Connecticut $6; and, altogether, these States only produce an aggregate of about 10 bushels per head to the population. Turn now to some of the great producing States — Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan. . . .
>
> Iowa raises of corn and wheat the value of $72 to each inhabitant, Illinois $60, Ohio $35, and Michigan $50; or altogether, they produce 62 bushels to each inhabitant. If we add the aggregate production of potatoes, rye, oats, barley and fruits, some idea may be formed of the vast food resources of these great States and the immense surplus they have with which to make up the deficiency of the Eastern States. It is thus out of their abundance that they pour forth such lavish supplies to feed the population of less productive portions of the Union and of foreign countries. The surplus they send to the Lake ports is 80,000,000 of bushels. Four-fifths of this, after the export is taken out, remain to supply the wants of New England and the East, and to make up the deficient average of grain production which we have shown above, and

[9] *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. I, p. 13. See also *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1879, Appendix, No. 19.

which varies from $2¼ a head in Massachusetts, whose energies are given over to manufacturing, to $72 a head in Iowa, which State is the heritage of an agricultural people, and has the capacity to raise food enough for the whole country. Only one-fourth of her area is now under cultivation.[10]

The bearing of these facts on the transportation of grain and flour via the railroads and inland waterways from the Middle West to the Atlantic seaboard and on the subject of freight rates is also emphasized:

The figures we have given exhibit the vastly preponderant value of the internal commerce of this country compared with the foreign traffic. They suggest, too, the great value of the railroad system for collecting these products at the centres of business and then distributing them wherever they may be needed over all the land. The grain comes from Chicago to New York by water for 32 cents. The railroad, in the heat of competition, brings it for 30 cents. From Oswego to New York, hardly a quarter of the distance from Chicago, the railroad charge is 58 cents for a barrel of flour, and the water charge is 32 cents. From St. Louis to New Orleans the freight on flour is 40 cents, from New Orleans to New York 75 cents — an aggregate of $1.15, while from St. Louis to New York, direct by rail, the freight is $1.30.

The grain and flour start from the Lake ports and are dropped everywhere by the way. The large cities demand millions of bushels; the manufacturing towns hold out their hands for a supply; the small villages all take their quota, and the farmer's wagon comes to the railroad station and bears away to his farm the barrel of flour which represents the food the unkind climate refuses to produce. In this work of distribution, as we remarked in a former article, the routes are few and fixed. New land routes are opening daily, and are penetrating to every part of the country. The flour which is transported over half the continent for a dollar, is charged on the local routes 30 or 40 cents, or even more for a dozen miles; and one may ship a barrel of flour from Chicago to New York for less than the cost of getting it to a point not without the reach of the sound of the City Hall bell.

10 *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, Vol. LX, June, 1869, pp. 454–457.

The period before railroads and canals was the period before manufactures. It was the era of home production and home consumption. The New England farmer was obliged to raise his food; he could not bring it from distant regions. Soon followed the marvellous growth and extension of the lines of intercommunication. As soon as the fertile valley of the Genesee was reached, New England found that food could be bought cheaper than it could be raised, and that the muscle and brain of her people could be more profitably employed in other pursuits than agriculture. The Ohio was reached, and the States along the Lakes; and as these immense granaries began to empty their riches into the lap of the East, the latter found new fields for its energies. Production and distribution have gone hand in hand, and the channel to market never remains long over-crowded. As a new demand is made upon it, new facilities are offered, and the restless energy of commerce is ever on the alert to make easy the transfer and interchange of commodities.[11]

Until about the year 1856, almost the entire surplus grain and flour of the Middle West was transported to the Atlantic seaboard by way of the Great Lakes and the Erie Canal and to the Gulf States by way of the Mississippi River and its tributaries. New York was almost the sole distributing port in the East and New Orleans in the South. The extension of the railroads throughout the Middle Western States effected radical changes in the conditions of transportation during the sixties and seventies. The most significant changes in the movement of grain from the Middle West to the seaboard was effected by the competition between the railroads and the inland waterways. This competition, culminating in the diversion of the major part of the traffic to the railroads, was first developed on the eastern routes.

The competition between the rail and water routes was at first comparatively ineffective. The railroads of the country were as a rule short; consequently through billing was difficult, if not impossible. Iron rails were still in use; hence

[11] *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, Vol. LX, June, 1869, pp. 454–457.

small train loads and resulting high operating expenses. Moreover, terminal facilities for loading and unloading grain were as yet undeveloped. The railroads were therefore at a decided disadvantage in the competitive struggle with the lake and canal route for the western flour and grain traffic. Gradually, however, they achieved the victory. By means of combinations of roads and by the organization of through freight lines, the railroads were enabled to transport grain from interior points to the local and export trade centers of the East without breaking bulk. The introduction of steel rails in 1869 and the consequent increase in the size and hauling power of locomotives, and the construction of elevators with loading and unloading machinery enabled the railroads to compete on more even terms with the waterways. Active competition sprang up in many directions. By 1872, sixty-seven per cent of all the grain shipped east was transported by the main trunk railroads.[12]

The railroads competed most vigorously for the flour, corn, and oats traffic. The flour traffic was quickly and almost completely absorbed by the railroads. The reasons for this were: first, that flour was susceptible to injury by moisture, thus giving the railroads a distinct advantage over the Great Lakes route in the transportation of this commodity; second, flour was more difficult to handle, hence through shipments were made by rail rather than by water to eastern lake ports, at which points it was necessary to transfer the flour to the eastern lines; and, third, a considerable portion of the flour shipped east was destined for consumption at local points along the way to the seaboard, which were situated remote from, and out of reach of, the waterways. In short, flour was shipped east by rail because

12 *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), p. 24; *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1962.

the rail routes were safer and quicker and because flour constituted a finished product ready for consumption at the local markets.[13]

The railroads were more successful in the competitive struggle for the corn traffic than they were for the wheat traffic. This is to be explained by the geographic location of the areas of surplus production.[14] The great bulk of the eastbound shipments of wheat came from the States west and northwest of Lake Michigan, thus giving the lake route a strategic advantage over the railroads in the transportation of this commodity; while the bulk of the eastbound corn shipments originated in the States south and west of the lake region and so afforded the railroads an advantage over the lake route in the transportation of corn. The railroads practically controlled the transportation of grain from those parts of Illinois and Indiana lying south of a latitudinal line

[13] "The railroads gained this traffic, partly because shipment by lake to points not accessible to lake craft involved a transshipment, and flour could not be transferred with the same ease and facility that grain could be transshipped; partly because barrels are broken in this process and in passage if rough weather be encountered; and finally because expeditious delivery is frequently demanded — the elements of time being of much greater importance in the movement of flour than of grain. To these causes may be added a fourth — the cost of marine insurance".— Tunell's *The Diversion of the Flour and Grain Traffic from the Great Lakes to the Railroads* in *The Journal of Political Economy,* Vol. V, 1897, p. 348.

[14] Schmidt's *The Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1860–1890,* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIX, pp. 205–219. See also Blodgett's *Relations of Population and Food Products in the United States* (Bulletin No. 24, Bureau of Statistics, United States Department of Agriculture, 1903), pp. 16–21, 27–32; *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1879, Appendix, No. 19; Brewer's *Report on the Cereal Production of the United States* in the *Tenth Census of the United States,* 1880, Vol. III, maps 2 to 9 inclusive, showing the geographic distribution of wheat and corn production in the United States in 1879; *Statistical Atlas of the United States: Eleventh Census,* 1890, maps 291 to 294 and 297 to 300 inclusive, showing the geographic distribution of wheat and corn production in the United States in 1889.

sixty miles south of Lake Michigan.[15] This control was extended into the region north of that line by high local rates to Chicago which constituted an effective discrimination against the lake route. This is shown by a comparison of the cost of transporting a bushel of wheat from Sandoval, Illinois, to New York City by direct all-rail and by rail and water route via Chicago, the Great Lakes, the Erie Canal, and the Hudson River to New York. The direct all-rail rate in 1874 was 34 cents; while the rail-water rate via Chicago was 47.3 cents, which was distributed as follows: Sandoval to Chicago, 15.8 cents; transfer charges at Chicago, 2 cents; Chicago to New York by lake and canal, 26.6 cents; transfer charges at Buffalo, 1.3 cents; lake insurance, 1.2 cents; and Erie Canal and Hudson River insurance, 0.4 cents. This shows that the average all-rail rate was 11.3 cents or 15 per cent lower than the average cost of transport by the rail and water route, including transfer charges and marine insurance but not including commissions which amounted to about 2 cents a bushel.[16] Many illustrations of this kind could be given; but the one just given is sufficient to show that grain could be transported from many points in the Middle West to the eastern and southern markets by the all-rail lines at less cost than by the lake and canal route.

Rates were not the only determining factor, however, in the choice of routes for the shipment of grain from interior points to the seaboard. Terminal facilities for the handling and storage of the huge volume of grain which was poured into the markets after harvest also had a determining influence on the course of the grain trade which the railroads could not ignore. The lake ports of Chicago, Toledo, Mil-

15 *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. I, p. 24.

16 *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. I, pp. 24, 25.

waukee, and Detroit, including Buffalo, the Gate City to the East, through the capitalistic interests of those cities, provided these facilities. The lake ports therefore captured the great bulk of the eastbound grain traffic. In 1872 the amount of grain passing through these ports amounted to 86 per cent of the whole volume; while the remaining 14 per cent was shipped from the interior points direct to the Atlantic seaboard without first passing through the lake ports.[17]

Chicago affords the best illustration of the effects of competition between the railroads and the Great Lakes for the western grain and flour traffic.[18] It was here that the railroads entered most vigorously and most successfully into competition with the lake vessels. The rail distance from this port to Buffalo and thence to the Atlantic seaboard was the shortest; while the distance by lake was the longest.[19] Even so, however, competition between the rail and lake routes was unequal, as shown by a comparative study of the eastbound flour and grain shipments during this period.

The flour traffic, for reasons already given, was rapidly absorbed by the railroads. It will be seen by reference to

[17] *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. I, p. 26.

[18] See Tunell's *The Diversion of Flour and Grain from the Great Lakes to the Railroad* in *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. V, 1897, pp. 348–355; *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, pp. 110–114 and Appendix, No. 4, 1879, pp. 99–103 and Appendix, No. 3, 1880, pp. 101–118 and Appendix, No. 1, 1882, pp. 59, 60 and Appendix, No. 3.

[19] The distance from Chicago to Buffalo by lake is 889 miles and from Buffalo to New York City by the shortest rail route is 410 miles. The total lake and rail distance from Chicago to New York City is therefore 1299 miles. The rail distances from Chicago to the different seaboard cities are as follows: Chicago to Boston, 1000 miles; Chicago to New York City, 912 miles; Chicago to Philadelphia, 822 miles; Chicago to Baltimore, 802 miles; Chicago to Newport News, 896 miles; and Chicago to Norfolk, 984 miles.— *The Railroad Gazette*, Vol. XXIX, No. 13, pp. 215, 216.

Table I

Chicago East Bound Shipments of Flour by Lake and Rail from 1860 to 1890[20]

Year	Lake (Barrels)	Rail (Barrels)	Total (Barrels)
1860	218,741	408,082	626,823
1861	452,927	1,001,618	1,544,545
1862	1,057,803	672,961	1,730,764
1864	1,007,343	270,855	1,478,198
1865	1,034,793	208,747	1,243,540
1866	646,356	721,068	1,367,424
1867	481,491	1,585,776	2,067,267
1868	650,367	1,187,582	1,837,949
1869	774,556	1,749,973	2,524,529
1870	574,393	989,160	1,563,553
1871	488,705	694,274	1,182,979
1872	223,457	1,022,968	1,246,425
1873	428,321	1,773,467	2,201,788
1874	555,152	1,672,037	2,227,189
1875	328,283	1,872,943	2,201,226
1876	236,591	2,309,530	2,546,121
1877	148,779	2,229,729	2,378,508
1878	321,648	2,371,623	2,693,271
1879	330,257	2,675,402	3,005,659
1880	527,873	2,264,886	2,792,759
1881	159,415	4,235,559	4,394,974
1882	792,764	2,887,603	3,680,367
1883	801,099	3,067,275	3,868,374
1884	753,357	3,930,576	4,683,933
1885	652,373	4,450,051	5,102,424
1886	1,391,235	2,244,376	3,635,611
1887	1,544,196	4,682,546	6,226,742
1888	1,711,370	3,613,922	5,325,292
1889	1,811,467	1,951,274	3,762,741
1890	1,757,745	2,172,761	3,930,506

20 The statistics in Table I showing the comparative eastbound lake and rail shipments of flour from Chicago from 1860 to 1890 are taken from the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1964.

Table I showing the eastbound lake and rail shipments from Chicago during the period from 1860 to 1890 that in 1860 and 1861 the railroads transported almost twice as much flour as the lake vessels; but in 1862 the lake route gained supremacy and easily maintained the lead during the next two years. In the year 1866, however, the railroads began to encroach upon the lake route. In that year they transported 53 per cent of the flour; in 1867, they carried 77 per cent; in 1872, they carried 82 per cent; in 1877, they carried 94 per cent; and in 1881, they transported 96 per cent. After that date, however, the relative importance of the railroads as carriers of the Chicago eastbound flour traffic declined. In 1882, they transported 79 per cent of this traffic; in 1886, they transported 62 per cent; in 1889, they transported 54 per cent; and in 1890, they transported 56 per cent.

The eastbound flour traffic from Chicago reached its maximum volume in 1887 when 6,226,742 barrels were shipped. Of this amount 4,682,546 barrels were transported by the railroads and 1,544,196 barrels were carried by the lake vessels. After 1887 the relative importance of the railroads in the transportation of flour declined. This decline was coincident with the diversion of the great bulk of the eastbound flour traffic from Lake Michigan to Lake Superior ports which was made possible by the completion in 1888 of the Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Sault Ste. Marie Railway. This road shortened the direct water route to the east by the whole length of Lake Michigan, at the same time that it also made good connections with the Canadian Pacific Railroad. These advantages were determining factors in favor of the new route to which the great bulk of the surplus flour of the northwest was thereafter diverted, thus avoiding the delay at Chicago due to the congestion of the flour traffic at that point. By 1897, the flour shipments over the

"Soo" route exceeded the combined rail and lake shipments from Chicago.[21]

The wheat traffic was diverted from the lake vessels to the rail routes less rapidly and completely than the flour traffic. A comparison of the eastbound lake and rail shipments of wheat from Chicago (Table II) shows that in 1860 the railroads secured three per cent of the total shipments. In 1861 they secured five per cent; while in 1862 they transported but one per cent and in 1864 but four-tenths of one per cent of the total shipments. After the Civil War, the railroads entered upon a vigorous competition for the wheat traffic with the result that by 1867, they transported 38 per cent of the total shipments, which, however, represented an abnormally high proportion of the entire eastbound wheat traffic. In 1871 the rail shipments were reduced to five per cent; while in 1874 they were increased to 37 per cent. From that date to 1877 the rail shipments decreased rapidly, but in 1878 they were rapidly increased to 44 per cent. In 1879 they constituted 41 per cent of the total shipments which now amounted to nearly 30,000,000 bushels. After that date the rail shipments underwent a slight relative decline with the exception of the years 1881 and 1885 when they amounted to 50 per cent of the total shipments. In 1890 the railroads carried 42 per cent of the total shipments. From 1895 to 1897 they carried but 32 per cent of the total shipments.

The diversion of the corn traffic from the lake to the rail routes was effected even more slowly and less completely than the wheat traffic. A comparison of the eastbound lake and rail shipments of corn from Chicago (Table III) shows that in 1860, the railroads carried four per cent of the entire shipments. During the war period, however, the rail

21 *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1988.

Table II

Chicago East Bound Shipments of Wheat by Lake and Rail from 1860 to 1890[22]

Year	Lake (Bushels)	Rail (Bushels)	Total (Bushels)
1860	11,817,476	377,647	12,195,123
1861	15,005,735	730,873	15,736,608
1862	13,466,325	175,322	13,641,647
1864	10,646,052	39,768	10,685,820
1865	9,983,567	114,075	10,097,642
1866	6,502,575	1,147,510	7,650,085
1867	5,827,846	3,605,618	9,433,464
1868	8,492,187	1,072,078	9,564,265
1869	8,896,647	2,114,300	11,010,947
1870	13,429,069	2,621,699	16,050,768
1871	12,120,923	576,648	12,697,571
1872	8,831,870	2,363,810	11,195,680
1873	15,528,984	8,149,209	23,678,193
1874	16,974,149	9,725,251	26,699,400
1875	16,061,054	5,956,609	22,017,663
1876	7,396,369	5,378,792	12,775,161
1877	10,345,983	2,957,250	13,303,233
1878	12,903,481	10,018,880	22,922,361
1879	17,622,796	12,232,323	29,855,119
1880	16,685,046	4,742,343	21,427,389
1881	7,688,072	7,728,124	15,416,196
1882	14,944,258	2,920,526	17,864,784
1883	7,067,657	2,696,071	9,763,728
1884	11,518,884	6,322,493	17,841,377
1885	5,436,461	5,496,544	10,933,005
1886	10,513,126	2,462,918	12,976,044
1887	17,313,351	6,893,504	24,206,855
1888	5,895,379	3,998,998	9,894,377
1889	10,330,675	4,814,978	15,145,653
1890	6,965,834	2,953,826	9,919,660

[22] The statistics in Table II showing the comparative eastbound lake and rail shipments of wheat from Chicago from 1860 to 1890 are taken from the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1964.

Table III

Chicago East Bound Shipments of Corn by Lake and Rail from 1860 to 1890[23]

Year	Lake (Bushels)	Rail (Bushels)	Total (Bushels)
1860	13,063,043	577,611	13,040,654
1861	23,987,240	352,044	24,339,284
1862	29,248,677	125,162	29,373,839
1864	24,749,400	120,694	24,870,094
1865	11,998,475	616,077	12,614,552
1866	24,421,660	674,053	25,095,653
1867	31,457,855	1,452,162	32,910,017
1868	19,940,172	1,612,851	21,553,023
1869	21,671,071	3,367,718	25,038,780
1870	13,598,387	4,018,479	17,616,866
1871	34,200,876	2,435,220	36,636,096
1872	41,589,508	5,388,402	46,977,910
1873	34,487,205	2,194,361	36,681,566
1874	30,242,311	2,364,833	32,607,144
1875	21,850,652	4,321,559	26,172,211
1876	28,104,265	17,299,232	45,403,497
1877	38,607,611	7,657,511	46,265,122
1878	46,368,653	13,504,458	59,873,111
1879	41,561,336	19,711,615	61,272,951
1880	72,400,769	21,100,849	93,501,618
1881	44,164,571	29,625,348	73,789,919
1882	31,394,261	16,965,706	48,359,967
1883	47,738,117	22,766,745	70,501,862
1884	27,360,924	24,526,517	51,887,441
1885	29,382,591	28,682,864	58,065,455
1886	40,956,177	13,903,051	54,859,228
1887	38,710,856	10,674,781	49,385,637
1888	47,759,708	20,520,599	68,280,307
1889	63,200,754	20,070,032	83,270,786
1890	57,255,466	31,834,558	89,090,024

[23] The statistics in Table III showing the comparative eastbound lake and rail shipments of corn from Chicago from 1860 to 1890 are taken from the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1965.

shipments declined in both absolute and relative importance, amounting in 1862 and 1864 to but four-tenths of one per cent of the entire shipments. At the close of the war the railroads entered upon a vigorous competition for the corn traffic, with the result that by 1870, they had captured 23 per cent of the entire shipments. In 1876 the rail shipments suddenly mounted from an annual average of less than 5,000,000 bushels to more than 17,000,000 bushels, which constituted 38 per cent of the entire shipments. In 1884, the railroads carried 48 per cent and in 1885 they carried 49 per cent of the entire shipments. After that date the eastbound rail shipments of corn declined in both absolute and relative importance. In 1894 they carried but 14 per cent of the total shipments.

The oat traffic was diverted more rapidly and completely from the lake to the rail routes than either the wheat or the corn traffic. It will be seen by Table IV that there was a rapid growth in the volume of oats shipped east from Chicago during the war period. This is explained in large part by the fact that the principal contracts for supplying the armies in the south were filled in Chicago. The blockade of the Mississippi River had closed that important highway of commerce, hence it was impossible to send commodities by that route. Moreover, there were as yet no north and south railroads adequate for this purpose, and so it became necessary to utilize the railroads connecting Chicago with the Atlantic seaport cities for the transportation of the great bulk of the oats destined for the southern States. After the war the rail shipments declined in both absolute and relative importance; but in 1870 the railroads began a vigorous competition for the oat traffic, with the result that by 1873 they carried 60 per cent of the total shipments which now amounted to nearly 16,000,000 bushels. From that date to 1886 the railroads secured nearly all the oat traffic. In

Table IV

Chicago East Bound Shipments of Oats by Lake and Rail from 1860 to 1890[24]

Year	Lake (Bushels)	Rail (Bushels)	Total (Bushels)
1860	605,304	242,580	847,884
1861	1,422,776	69,731	1,492,507
1862	2,470,745	357,451	2,828,196
1864	5,696,800	2,213,058	7,909,858
1865	12,098,000	2,922,792	15,020,792
1866	8,719,900	1,538,383	10,258,283
1867	7,395,113	1,911,664	9,366,777
1868	9,745,205	388,114	10,133,319
1869	12,755,929	2,004,191	14,760,120
1870	6,339,220	2,064,333	8,403,553
1871	8,797,599	3,312,421	12,110,020
1872	6,370,784	5,853,319	12,224,103
1873	5,985,954	9,559,635	15,545,589
1874	4,741,088	5,674,137	10,415,225
1875	4,579,248	5,512,812	10,092,060
1876	2,997,335	8,166,155	11,163,490
1877	5,013,278	7,424,788	12,438,066
1878	6,255,003	10,149,386	16,404,389
1879	1,589,939	11,880,719	13,470,658
1880	2,139,473	18,402,996	20,542,469
1881	4,807,581	17,844,017	22,651,598
1882	3,633,638	18,966,513	22,600,151
1883	4,938,546	26,372,649	31,311,195
1884	5,444,889	27,780,317	33,225,206
1885	1,571,481	29,925,784	31,497,265
1886	3,219,833	27,756,005	30,975,838
1887	10,215,112	24,612,448	34,827,560
1888	13,764,336	25,761,204	39,525,540
1889	24,948,459	24,814,104	49,762,563
1890	18,522,884	50,604,575	69,127,459

[24] The statistics in Table IV showing the comparative eastbound lake and rail shipments of oats are taken from the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1965.

the latter year the lake vessels entered the field again and secured a large share of the oat shipments; but the railroads still continued to retain the major portion of this traffic.

The railroads were therefore more successful in the competitive struggle for the eastbound oat traffic than they were for the wheat and corn traffic. Since oats constitute a commodity of large bulk with relatively low value why did the railroads transport a larger proportion of this grain than of either wheat or corn? The reasons have been stated in part by one writer as follows:

> Oats take up moisture more readily than other grains and as a very small amount will cause oats to become musty, and thus unfit for horsefeed, this grain when not in the best of condition is generally shipped by rail. Recently there has been a device invented for "clipping" oats by which the portion that most freely absorbs moisture can be removed at slight expense. By "clipping" the weight of the measured bushel is also increased by some four to six pounds. During the germinating season grain is more liable to spoil and during this period it is safer to ship by rail. But there is another and far more potent reason for the unusually large rail movement of oats. It is the lake rates. These are fixed more upon the basis of bulk than weight, and as oats is a bulky product the freight per hundred pounds is considerably higher than on wheat and corn. Enough oats cannot be stowed away in the hold of a ship to secure a cargo equal in weight to that of the same ship loaded with wheat, and therefore it is necessary to fix a higher rate per hundred pounds upon oats than upon wheat. The grain car, on the other hand, is so large that there is no difficulty in loading it to its full carrying capacity with the bulky product oats, and as a consequence the rail rates on oats are no more per hundred pounds than those on wheat and corn. Lake rates per hundred pounds on oats are very much higher than the rates on wheat and corn.[25]

[25] Tunell's *The Diversion of the Flour and Grain Traffic from the Great Lakes to the Railroads* in *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. V, 1897, pp. 354, 355.

Milwaukee was the next important western lake port in the competitive struggle between the lake and rail routes for the eastbound flour and grain traffic. This city is located about 85 miles north of Chicago on the western shore of Lake Michigan. It is therefore farther removed by the all-rail route from the seaboard than Chicago; though it is correspondingly nearer by the lake route. Consequently the railroads were not as successful in securing the eastbound flour and grain traffic at Milwaukee as they were at Chicago. The rail shipments were sent southward around the lower end of Lake Michigan through Chicago. Large shipments were also made via the transit lines across Lake Michigan and thence by rail eastward and southeastward without unloading. The great bulk of the traffic, however, was sent directly eastward by the all-lake route.[26]

A comparative review of the eastbound lake and rail shipments of flour from Milwaukee shows that in 1876 the railroads transported 1,289,147 barrels of flour, or 49 per cent of the total shipments. This represented the largest shipment of flour, both absolutely and relatively considered, that was secured by the railroads throughout the entire period. In 1877, the rail shipments from Milwaukee declined to 102,675 barrels, which represented but 9 per cent of the entire shipments. After that date they constituted only about 10 per cent of the entire shipments. From 1895 to 1897 the all-lake shipments amounted to 50 per cent of the total shipments; and the transit line shipments amount-

[26] See Thompson's *The Rise and Decline of the Wheat Growing Industry in Wisconsin* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Economics and Political Science Series, Vol. V, No. 3, 1909), Pt. II, Ch. VII; Merk's *Economic History of Wisconsin During the Civil War Decade*, Ch. XV. This is Volume I of the *Studies* published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. See also *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1882, Appendix, No. 10.

ed to 39 per cent; while the all-rail shipments amounted to but 11 per cent.[27]

Milwaukee during the war period became the most important primary wheat market in the world — a distinction which had previously been held by Chicago but which after the war and in the seventies passed back and forth between the two cities. In 1873 the Milwaukee wheat shipments amounted to nearly 25,000,000 bushels. In 1877 they were reduced to a little less than 18,000,000 bushels. After that date the Milwaukee wheat market rapidly declined, while the Chicago wheat market was for a time maintained as to quantity of wheat received and shipped; although Chicago was soon overtaken in the early nineties by Minneapolis and Duluth-Superior which had now become the leading primary wheat markets of the Middle West. Meanwhile Milwaukee declined in both absolute and relative importance as a wheat market. After 1880 the annual wheat shipments amounted to considerably less than 8,000,000 bushels. The rail shipments during the Civil War period were almost negligible. After the war they were suddenly increased to over 300,000 bushels, which amount was maintained with slight fluctuations until 1873 when the rail shipments suddenly rose to about 1,700,000 bushels. From 1873 to 1876 they averaged nearly 3,000,000 bushels. After that date the rail shipments declined in amount but increased in proportion to the total shipments. In 1873 the rail shipments of wheat from Milwaukee amounted to seven per cent of the total shipments; the transit line shipments to two per cent, and the lake shipments to 91 per cent. By 1895 rail shipments had been increased to 57 per cent and

[27] These statistics showing the relative importance of the eastbound lake and rail shipments of flour from Milwaukee from 1860 to 1890 are taken from the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, pp. 1965, 1966.

the transit line shipments to ten per cent; while the lake shipments had been reduced to 33 per cent.[28]

The eastbound corn shipments from Milwaukee were of minor importance. Throughout the entire period from 1860 to 1890 there were but three years in which the shipments exceeded 1,000,000 bushels and but four years in which they exceeded 500,000 bushels. The great bulk of the corn was shipped by the lake route. In 1872, the lakes carried 98 per cent of the total shipments; in 1880, they carried 92 per cent; and in 1897 they carried 91 per cent. The oat traffic though more important than the corn traffic, did not undergo a rapid growth until about 1890. The bulk of the oats was shipped out by the lake route.[29]

Chicago and Milwaukee have been selected for this study for the reason that competition between the lake and rail routes for the western grain and flour traffic was practically confined to shipments from these two great primary markets to points located on the Great Lakes-Erie Canal-Hudson River waterway and to New York City: the eastern terminus of that line. The other leading primary markets of the lakes were Toledo, Detroit, Duluth, and Superior, not to mention a host of minor cities which contributed very materially to the total volume of the eastbound flour and grain traffic.[30]

28 These statistics showing the relative importance of the eastbound lake and rail shipments of wheat from Milwaukee from 1860 to 1890 are taken from the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1966.

29 These statistics showing the relative importance of the eastbound lake and rail shipments of corn from Milwaukee from 1860 to 1890 are taken from the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1966. See same reference for oat shipments.

30 Among these cities may be mentioned Racine, Kenosha, Sheboygan, Port Washington, and Green Bay. See map showing the freight traffic on the

The most significant feature of this development was the rapid northwestward movement of the wheat growing and flour milling industries and the consequent diversion of the wheat and flour traffic from Lake Michigan to Lake Superior ports. As long as the surplus wheat areas were tributary to Chicago the railroads had a strategic advantage over the lake vessels in the competitive struggle for the eastbound flour and wheat traffic. The rail route from Chicago to Buffalo is almost a direct line; whereas the lake route is extremely circuitous, thus making necessary a considerable deviation from the direct route. That is to say the distance from Chicago to Buffalo by rail is 540 miles; while the distance by lake is 889 miles. This is equivalent to saying that for every mile by the direct rail route, the lake vessels must go 1.65 miles.[31] The movement of the surplus wheat areas into Minnesota and the Dakotas in the eighties and the nineties brought Minneapolis into prominence as the greatest primary wheat market and flour milling center in the world; while the construction of the St. Paul and Duluth Railroad brought Duluth and Superior at the head of Lake Superior nearer to the wheat fields of the Great Northwest than Chicago. Duluth and Superior are no further by lake from Buffalo than Chicago and Milwaukee; consequently these two lake ports were able to secure the great bulk of the surplus wheat destined for the eastern markets. Duluth also became a great flour milling center, thus becoming an important shipping point for both wheat and flour. Moreover, the completion of the Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Sault Ste. Marie Railroad in 1888 opened up a direct route

Great Lakes during the year 1890 in the *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1891, opposite p. 96.

[31] The time tables of the New York Central Railroad give 540 miles as the distance by the main line and 535.88 miles by the Michigan Central route. The *Rand McNally Commercial Atlas of America* (1921 edition), p. xl, gives the shortest rail distance between Chicago and Buffalo as 513 miles.

between the twin cities and the east, with the result that considerable quantities of flour and wheat were sent over this route to Sault Ste. Marie, at which point these commodities were sent by the lake route to Buffalo or over the Canadian Pacific Railroad to Montreal.

An accurate description of the eastbound flour and grain traffic of Duluth and Superior is furnished by the statistics of the volume of flour, wheat, and other grains passing through the St. Marys Falls Canal. This statement is supported by two facts: first, that there was but little local grain traffic on Lake Superior, since most of it was destined for the lower lake ports; and second that the Lake Superior traffic had to pass through this canal. In 1860 the flour shipments through the Soo Canal amounted to 50,250 barrels. No wheat shipments were reported; while shipments of other grains amounted to 133,000 bushels. In 1873 the flour shipments amounted to 172,692 barrels; the wheat shipments to 2,120,000 bushels; and all other grains to 310,000 bushels. In 1884, the flour shipments amounted to 1,248,243 barrels; the wheat shipments to 11,986,000 bushels; and all other grains to 517,000 bushels. By 1890 the flour shipment had been increased to 3,239,104 barrels, the wheat shipments to 16,217,000 bushels, and all other grains to 2,044,000 bushels.[32]

The eastbound flour shipments over the Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Sault Ste. Marie Railroad amounted in 1888 to 931,502 barrels, and in 1889 to 1,367,792 barrels. In 1895 they were increased to 2,111,455 barrels and in 1897 to 2,857,942 barrels. This now exceeded the eastbound shipments from Chicago by both lake and rail which amounted to 2,618,076 barrels.[33]

[32] *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1990.

[33] *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1988.

These movements explain the extent to which the lake vessels were able to recover a considerable portion of the grain and wheat traffic which had hitherto been lost to the railroads. The Great Lakes occupied a midway position in the movement of grain from the Middle West to the Atlantic seaboard. Duluth, Superior, Milwaukee, Chicago, Green Bay, Port Washington, Sheboygan, Kenosha, and Racine sent vast quantities of wheat, corn, and oats by lake lines to the lower lake ports of Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Erie, Buffalo, Oswego, and Ogdensburg. From these lower lake shore cities the grain and flour receipts were transshipped to the eastern and foreign markets. Most of the lake lines were in the service of the railroads which reached these ports. All the leading trunk lines owned lake lines of steamers which transported grain and flour from the upper to the lower lake ports.[34]

The principal transshipment point was Buffalo: the gate city to the East. Through this city passed the great bulk of the western flour and grain shipped east to the Atlantic seaboard by the lake route. The rapid growth in the volume of this traffic is shown by Table V which gives the annual receipts from 1860 to 1890. Of special significance is the remarkable expansion in the volume of flour receipts during the latter part of this period. It will be noted that the flour receipts were increased from 2,903,280 barrels in 1885 to 6,245,580 barrels in 1890. The rapid growth in flour receipts continued after that date, amounting in 1891 to 11,488,530 barrels. A comparison of the relative quantities of flour and wheat received at Buffalo shows that from 1877 to 1888 the total flour receipts amounted to 22,100,000 barrels; while the aggregate wheat receipts amounted to

[34] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1880, p. 158; *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange,* 1875–1876, pp. 220, 221.

TABLE V

BUFFALO FLOUR AND GRAIN RECEIPTS BY LAKE FROM 1860 TO 1890[35]

YEAR	FLOUR (BARRELS)	WHEAT (BUSHELS)	CORN (BUSHELS)	OATS (BUSHELS)	TOTAL FLOUR AND GRAIN (BUSHELS)
1860	1,122,335	18,502,649	11,386,217	1,209,594	37,053,115
1861	2,150,591	27,105,219	21,024,657	1,797,905	61,460,601
1862	2,846,022	30,435,831	24,388,627	2,624,932	72,872,454
1863	2,978,089	21,240,348	20,086,952	7,322,187	64,735,510
1864	2,048,530	17,677,549	10,478,681	11,682,637	51,177,146
1865	1,788,393	12,437,888	19,840,931	8,494,799	51,415,188
1866	1,213,543	10,479,694	27,894,798	10,227,472	58,388,087
1867	1,440,056	11,879,685	17,873,638	10,933,166	50,700,060
1868	1,502,731	12,555,731	16,804,067	11,492,472	49,949,856
1869	1,598,487	19,228,546	11,549,403	5,459,403	45,007,163
1870	1,470,391	20,556,722	9,410,128	8,846,983	46,613,096
1871	1,278,077	22,606,217	26,110,769	9,006,409	67,155,742
1872	762,502	14,304,942	34,643,187	6,050,045	62,260,332
1873	1,259,205	30,618,372	28,550,828	5,972,346	73,636,595
1874	1,693,585	20,778,572	24,974,548	5,396,781	70,030,552
1875	1,810,402	32,967,656	22,593,891	8,494,124	74,246,726
1876	807,210	19,324,612	20,939,853	2,397,257	50,074,648
1877	693,044	23,284,405	33,362,866	4,279,229	65,199,291
1878	911,980	35,419,136	35,133,853	5,122,972	84,046,052
1879	897,105	37,788,501	32,990,993	1,104,793	78,865,354
1880	1,317,911	40,510,229	62,214,417	649,350	112,042,927
1881	1,051,250	18,495,320	34,434,830	3,565,737	62,062,895
1882	1,199,350	26,050,030	21,664,530	1,650,170	56,830,340
1883	2,071,570	24,105,420	34,975,040	3,226,900	76,079,930
1884	2,615,510	32,469,710	18,538,340	3,174,730	70,041,520
1885	2,903,280	27,130,400	21,028,230	767,580	64,329,230
1886	4,582,190	41,430,440	29,155,370	1,014,670	95,425,790
1887	4,001,360	48,111,180	30,199,490	4,656,280	104,737,710
1888	5,244,930	27,548,110	36,422,270	7,897,310	99,448,150
1889	5,480,710	26,051,600	47,127,150	14,309,800	118,273,430
1890	6,245,580	24,868,630	44,136,060	13,860,780	120,540,700

[35] The statistics in Table V showing the flour and grain receipts of Buffalo from 1860 to 1890 are taken from the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 2015. The total receipts given in the last column include barley and rye. See also Brewer's *Report on the Cereal Production of the United States*, p. 162, in the *Tenth Census of the United States*, 1880, Vol. III.

354,800,000 bushels. From 1889 to 1898, however, flour receipts amounted to 97,700,000 barrels; while the wheat receipts amounted to 594,000,000 bushels. That is to say, whereas in the first period Buffalo received one barrel of flour for every 16 bushels of wheat, in the second period it received one barrel of flour for every 6 bushels of wheat. Or, to state it in another way, in the first period 22 per cent of the total wheat receipts of Buffalo was in the form of flour; while in the second period, 42 per cent of the wheat receipts was in that form.[36] This change in the relative importance of wheat and flour receipts at Buffalo emphasizes the rapidity with which the milling industry was shifted from the Atlantic seaboard States to the Middle West.[37]

The relative importance of Buffalo as the transshipment point for western grain and flour shipped by the lake route is shown by the fact that in 1890 this city received 92 per cent of the wheat shipments, 74 per cent of the corn shipments, 73 per cent of the oat shipments, 92 per cent of the barley shipments, and 63 per cent of the flour shipments. Oswego, Ogdensburg, Cleveland, Erie, Chicago, and Milwaukee received nearly all of the remainder.[38]

Buffalo thus continued to be the great transshipment center — a position which this city had achieved upon the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 — for the great bulk of the flour and grain shipped eastward by the lake route. At this point the shipper had the choice of water and rail

[36] *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 2014.

[37] See Thompson's *The Rise and Decline of the Wheat Growing Industry in Wisconsin* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Economics and Political Science Series, Vol. V, No. 3, 1909), Pt. II, Ch. VI; *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, pp. 1988–1990.

[38] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1891, p. xxvi.

routes to the seaboard. The water routes consisted of: first, the Erie Canal and Hudson River to New York City; and, second, the Welland Canal and the St. Lawrence River to Montreal, at which point shipments could be continued by that river to Europe or transferred to the Canadian Grand Trunk Railroad to Portland and Boston. The rail routes consisted of: first, the New York Central Railroad to Albany and thence to New York City or to Boston; and, second, the Erie Railroad to New York City.

The Welland Canal-St. Lawrence River route entered into competition with the Canadian Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railroad for the flour and grain trade destined for Montreal. The greater part of the corn traffic was handled by the lakes; while the flour traffic was rapidly and completely absorbed by the railroads. Of the total flour receipts of Montreal in 1875 the proportion carried by the Canadian Grand Trunk Railroad amounted to 75 per cent, thus leaving but 25 per cent for the Welland Canal and St. Lawrence routes; while in 1882, the Grand Trunk Railroad carried 85 per cent of the total shipments received by Montreal. The wheat traffic was also secured by the railroads, although much more gradually. In 1875, the Grand Trunk Railroad carried 14 per cent of the total shipments received by Montreal; while in 1882, they handled 19 per cent of the total flour and grain receipts of Montreal. In 1898, the railroads carried 83 per cent of the flour, 24 per cent of the wheat, 14 per cent of the corn, 77 per cent of the oats, 28 per cent of the barley, and 17 per cent of the rye.[39] It will therefore be seen that the Welland Canal-St. Lawrence River route surrendered a considerable proportion of the eastbound traffic for Montreal to the railroads. Even so, however, it is noteworthy that the Welland Canal had an

[39] *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1968.

advantage over the Erie Canal with respect to length, depth, and geographic position. At the same time it also occupied a more favorable position with respect to its natural competitors (the Canadian Grand Trunk and Pacific railroads) in the struggle for the eastbound flour and grain traffic destined for Montreal than the Erie Canal occupied with reference to the New York Central and Erie railroads in the competitive struggle for the traffic destined for New York City.

The Erie Canal — once the great highway of commerce between the Middle West and the Atlantic seaboard — was now superseded by the railroads in the competitive struggle which ensued after the Civil War for the western flour and grain traffic. For a time the encroachment of the railroads upon the canals continued unobserved. Confidence in the ability of the canal to compete successfully for the grain traffic was frequently expressed. Apropos of the belief in the superiority of the Erie Canal and the cost of transporting a bushel of wheat from the Mississippi River to New York City, the following editorial in *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* for May, 1869, is of pertinent interest:

> The subject of cheaper transportation from the West to the East has attracted much attention of late. The report of the Hon. Israel T. Hatch, of Buffalo, to the Secretary of the Treasury; the speech of the same gentlemen before the New York Produce Exchange; the mission of representatives of New York grain interests to the shippers and dealers of the lake cities; the action of the Board of Trade in these cities; and, finally, the convention of delegates from boards of trade in the lake cities at Chicago during the last week, attest the interest that is felt in this matter by shippers and commercial men. This action and agitation has been stimulated by the conviction that the cost of transportation of grain and breadstuffs is higher than is necessary, that the transfer charges at Chicago, Buffalo, Oswego and New York are too great,

and to the further fact that the merchants of St. Louis and New Orleans are energetically moving with reference to making the Mississippi the outlet to the sea for agricultural products of the Northwest. Other disturbing causes are the agitation in reference to a Niagara Ship Canal, the enlargement of the Welland Canal, and the marvellous growth of the railroad interest which menace the ordinarily cheaper lines of water communication.

Grain and flour will, as a matter of course, take that route to market which, all things considered, is the cheapest. Time is not an important element. To the millions of bushels of grain in the Northwest which seek a market various routes are presented, and the solicitations of these are of various degrees of strength. Thus far transportation by the Lakes and the Erie Canal or by the railroads direct to the seaboard have been the favorite routes. Rivals have risen and grown threatening; direct trade with Europe has been talked and dreamed of, but there has been no really formidable competition to the route which has for so many years been the natural outlet. The fact that the Erie Canal earned over and above expenses some $3,000,000 last year, at once suggested the thought that the canal tolls were excessive, and this stimulated an investigation which has shown that freight and transfer charges could be reduced, and that the whole business of shipping grain could be transacted at less cost, and the saving to be transferred to the pockets of the producer and the consumer.

In the discussion of this question of cheaper transportation there are two classes of reasoners: One believes that the cheapening of freight must be in the direction of water transportation; the other looks to the railroads as the certain means for reducing charges and as the commanding power in transportation for the future. Into this question we do not propose to enter at present. Our object is to show that freight and transfer charges are now too high, and that they can be reduced. To transport a bushel of grain from the Mississippi to the seaboard, it now costs 52¼ cents. The details are as follows:

Freight by rail to Chicago	20
Inspection (in and out)	¼
Storage	2½
Commissions	1½
Freight to Buffalo	6½

Insurance	1¼
Elevator at Buffalo	2
Handling	¼
Commissions at Buffalo	1½
Freight by Canal to New York	13½
Expenses in New York	3
Total expenses	52¼

Of this sum, 40 cents are for carriage, and 12¼ are for transfer and local charges. The railway West of Chicago receives 20 cents for 200 miles. The canal, 352 miles, and the Hudson River, 150 miles, require 13½ cents, of which 6 cents are for tolls. The lake charges for a distance of more than a 1,000 miles are but 6½ cents. The aggregate is about $10 a ton from Chicago, or $17 from the Mississippi. The charges at grain elevators vary from one cent to two cents bushel. The charge for shoveling is from $2 to $5 for 1,000 bushels. At Buffalo, last year, the transfer and shovelling charges on 36,754,948 bushels exceeded the canal tolls by $216,000; and at Oswego the transfer charges alone on 6,270,466 bushels exceeded the tolls by $15,000. To this the charge for shovelling is to be added. It is a curious fact that the steam elevators have actually been in the habit of charging more than the same work could be done for by hand power. Two cases are cited at Buffalo. In one instance a cargo of 87,000 bushels of oats was transferred by an elevator in fifteen hours. The elevator fees were $1,740, the cost of shovelling $435; total, $2,175, or 2½ cents a bushel. In another case, two vessels were unloaded by hand, and the cargo transferred to cars, at a cost of 1½ cents a bushel. An inspection and comparison of these figures indicate that in order to cheapen transportation, it is not necessary merely to reduce canal tolls and freight charges. The local charges for transfer, etc., also require reduction. . . . .

As the elevator charges at Chicago, Buffalo, and New York are 5¼ cents a bushel, and the shovelling from 1 to 1½ cents more, a movement for a general reduction has been made. The work can be profitably done at half the price, and the leading dealers in the ports named have agreed to make the reduction. It remains for the Legislature of the State of New York to reduce the Canal tolls to a proportionate extent, and for the transportation lines West

of Chicago to reduce their rates. They now charge from 20 to 30 cents a bushel. The result of this is that grain is carried past Chicago and as the journals of that city complain, it can be carried from Central Illinois half way to New York for the cost of carrying it to Chicago alone.

This subject is of great importance not only to New York City and State, but to the whole seaboard. It has an interest too for every producer in the great Northwest, and it is not strange that such vigorous efforts are put forth to secure so important a trade in the channels now occupied by it, or to divert it into new channels. The business of the Erie Canal comes from the West. Only one-ninth of its traffic is local. The residue is from beyond Buffalo. There are single States in the West which, when the Erie Canal was due, had not even a name, that furnish it now more traffic than all that the State of New York now supplies. Year by year this business increases, and it is the part of wisdom to see to it that the channel of trade is equal to the demands upon it, and that the Erie Canal remains what it has so long been, the great route of transportation between the seaboard and the West.[40]

The railroads with their improved facilities[41] and low rates continued nevertheless to encroach upon the Erie Canal in the transportation of the eastbound flour and grain traffic, and this in spite of the fact that the Erie Canal was enlarged, freight rates on the Canal lowered, elevator and storage charges lessened, and tolls reduced and finally abolished in 1882.[42] The Erie Canal became less a factor in the movement of flour and grain to the seaboard. This is shown by a comparison of the total flour and grain receipts at New York by the rail and canal routes. In 1860 the total receipts of New York by the Erie and Champlain canals

40 *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, Vol. LX, May, 1869, pp. 385–387.

41 See Schmidt's *The Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1860–1890*, in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIX, pp. 428, 429.

42 *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, pp. 1972–1974.

amounted to 41,122,000 bushels; while the total receipts by the rail routes amounted to 16,010,000 bushels.[43] In 1870, the total receipts of New York by the canal route amounted to 36,312,000 bushels; while the total receipts by the rail route amounted to 34,208,000 bushels.[44] In 1880, the total receipts by the canal route amounted to 71,090,000 bushels; while the total receipts by the rail route amounted to 97,-953,000 bushels.[45] In 1890, the total receipts by the canal route amounted to 30,185,000 bushels; while the total receipts by the rail route amounted to 90,219,000 bushels.[46] That is to say, in 1860 the Erie and Champlain canals carried two and a half times as much flour and grain to New York as the railroads; while in 1890 they carried only about one-third as much as the railroads. It will therefore be seen that while the Great Lakes were maintaining their relative position with the railroads and even regaining in part their old supremacy near the close of this period, the Erie Canal was becoming less and less important. The break in water transportation, however, was not in the west but at Buffalo, the point where the lake and canal routes met.

In order to understand the nature of the competition between the Erie Canal and the New York Central and Erie railroads for the eastbound flour and grain traffic it is necessary to inquire into the conditions which controlled the shipments from Buffalo by the various routes. These shipments consisted almost entirely of flour and grain received at Buffalo by the lake route. The railroads connect-

[43] *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange*, 1872–1873, pp. 338–391.

[44] *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange*, 1872–1873, pp. 338–391.

[45] *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange*, 1881, p. 407.

[46] *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange*, 1890–1891, p. 5.

ing Buffalo with the Middle West brought very little traffic to the canal. It was estimated in 1876 that probably not to exceed three per cent of all the freights received at Buffalo were shipped by lake from that point.[47] But the trunk line railroads which competed with the canal at Buffalo had both rail and lake connections with the west. This gave them great advantages over the canal. The steamer lines on the lakes brought to these roads large amounts of grain and flour from Chicago, Milwaukee, and the lake ports. Their rail connections also brought them considerable traffic from the Middle West. Moreover, the eastern and lateral connections of the New York Central and Erie railroads afforded these lines great advantages in the competitive struggle for the western grain and flour destined for the Atlantic seaports and the interior points in the seaboard States. These roads were therefore enabled to secure a large volume of traffic which led to a great reduction in the actual cost of moving grain by rail from the lakes to the seaboard. This fact constituted the most important condition in the lowering of freight rates. As long as the eastbound flour and grain was marketed almost exclusively at Chicago, Milwaukee, Toledo, and other lake ports, the Erie Canal was the principal transportation route; but after the trunk line railroads were built and direct rail connections were formed throughout the Middle West, a large proportion of the traffic was secured by these roads. The trunk line railroads opened up new areas of surplus production. Thus was developed an eastbound flour and grain traffic which far exceeded the amount diverted from the water lines to the railroads. The traffic secured by the railroads throughout the country was, as a matter of fact, developed by them rather than diverted to them from other transpor-

[47] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, p. 115.

Table VI

Freight Rates on Wheat by Lake and Canal, by Lake and Rail, and by Rail from Chicago to New York from 1860 to 1890[48]

Year	Average Rates per Bushel in Cents		
	By Lake and Canal	By Lake and Rail	By All Rail
1860	24.83	....	....
1861	26.55	....	....
1862	26.33	....	....
1863	22.91	....	....
1864	28.36	....	....
1865	26.62	....	....
1866	29.61	....	....
1867	22.36	....	....
1868	22.79	29.0	42.6
1869	25.12	25.0	35.1
1870	17.10	22.0	33.3
1871	20.24	25.0	31.0
1872	24.47	28.0	33.5
1873	19.19	26.9	33.2
1874	14.10	16.9	28.7
1875	11.43	14.6	24.1
1876	9.58	11.8	16.5
1877	1.24	15.8	20.3
1878	9.15	11.4	17.7
1879	11.60	13.3	17.3
1880	12.27	15.7	19.9
1881	8.19	10.4	14.4
1882	7.89	10.9	14.6
1883	8.37	11.5	16.5
1884	6.31	9.55	13.12
1885	5.87	9.02	14.00
1886	8.71	12.00	16.50
1887	8.51	12.00	16.33
1888	5.93	11.00	14.50
1889	6.89	8.70	15.00
1890	5.85	8.50	14.31

[48] *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange,* 1890–1891, p. 72. The lake and canal rates include canal tolls until 1882, but not Buffalo transfer charges. See also *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United*

tation lines. Although rail rates were considerably higher than the lake and canal rates, the railroads, by making direct shipments, effected such saving of commissions, transfer and warehousing charges, insurance, and other expenses incident to transportation by the water line as to enable them to become successful competitors for the transportation of flour and grain and other bulky products from the Middle West to the Atlantic seaboard.

The great reduction in rail and water rates may be seen by Table VI showing the average annual freight rates on a bushel of wheat by lake and canal, by lake and rail, and by all rail from Chicago to New York from 1860 to 1890. In 1860 the lake and canal rates amounted to 24.8 cents a bushel. In 1870 they were reduced to 17.1 cents; while the lake and rail rates for that year amounted to 29 cents, and the all-rail rates amounted to 42.6 cents. In 1880, the lake and canal rates were further reduced to 12.3 cents, the lake and rail rates to 15.7 cents, and the all-rail rates to 19.9 cents. In 1890, the lake and canal rates were still further reduced to 5.9 cents, the lake and rail rates to 8.5 cents, and the all-rail rates to 14.3 cents. These rates were the published rates. As a matter of fact, there were great variations in these schedules. During the summer months when the waterways were open the rail rates were lower than the published rates; while during the winter months when the waterways were closed to navigation the rail rates were considerably higher.[49] The value of the water line in the

States (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1891, p. xliii; *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1973.

[49] This fact was clearly brought out in the testimony before the Windom Committee in 1874. Mr. Hayes, manager of the Blue Line Fast Freight, testified that the general freight agents of the western roads based the rail rates upon the water rates. That is to say, the water rate was taken as a competitive rate and the rail rates were fixed accordingly. "For seven months

transportation of western products to the seaboard is therefore to be measured not only by the amount of traffic carried by this route, but also by the fact that during a period of about seven months in the year when it was free of ice and open to navigation it served as a potent factor in reducing rail rates, thus effecting a great saving in the cost of transportation of products from the producer to the consumer.[50]

The westward movement of cereal production and the competition between the water and rail routes and in turn between the railroads themselves for the surplus flour and grain destined for the markets of the east and of western Europe effected important changes in the distribution of these products at the eastern terminals. Formerly much of the grain sent to the Atlantic seaports was shipped by the coastwise route from New Orleans. The opening of a new

of the year during the period of open canal navigation the rates are much less than that indicated by the foregoing averages for the year, and during the four months in which canal navigation is closed by frost, the rates largely exceed the foregoing season averages.''— *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. II, pp. 7, 95. See also statistical chart showing the average freight rates on grain from Chicago to New York for each month during the years 1869 to 1873 inclusive, by lake and canal, by lake and rail, and by all rail, in the *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, Chart No. 6, opposite p. 254.

50 ''Mr. J. C. Brown, statistician of the New York Produce Exchange, shows that the average freight rate on wheat from Chicago to New York in 1890 was 5.85 cents a bushel by lake and canal, and 14.31 cents a bushel by rail — the water cost being $1.94 a ton and the rail cost $4.77 per ton. That the rail cost between the two points should be less than one-half the average carrying rate for all the roads of the country is due to lake competition; and that, low as this rail cost is, the lake and canal cost for the same service is more than one-half lower still, affords a sharp conception of the great value of the lake line to the States of the North and Northwest — for they not only furnish a water carriage cheaper by one-half than the lowest rail cost, but they force the rail cost down to one-half the general average for the whole country. It would be within the limits of a reasonable estimate to say that the 16 feet of water all the way from Chicago to Buffalo saves to the people of those States, on freight charges, $10,000,000 a year, if not double that sum.''— *Annual Re-*

water route to the east by the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 and the consequent rapid diversion of this surplus flour and grain of the Middle West from the southern to the eastern routes gave New York City a great ascendancy over Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The Erie Canal, in short, made New York City "the commercial metropolis of the east." From this port, grain and flour shipments were made to the other Atlantic seaports. The completion of the Welland Canal in 1833 and the St. Lawrence canals in 1848 opened up another water route to the east with Montreal as the terminal shipping point for western products. Thereupon began an active competition between New York City and Montreal for the traffic between the Middle West and the countries of Western Europe which has continued to the present. Formerly the competition with respect to the transportation of grain and other western products was confined almost exclusively to the two rival water lines: the Great Lakes-Canadian Canals-St. Lawrence River route and the Great Lakes-Erie Canal-Hudson River route. The competition of the rail lines for the transportation of grain to New York was begun in 1856; but it was not until 1867 that grain was first shipped by rail from the west to Mon-

port on the Internal Commerce of the United States (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1891, p. xlviii. It was further estimated that in 1890 the Erie Canal effected a saving of $4,000,000 a year on the wheat receipts alone, and probably five times as much on all the domestic receipts and shipments of New York City. Mr. Albert Fink, an eminent authority on the subject of railway transportation, testified before a special committee of the New York legislature that "the Erie Canal regulates the freight rates on all the railroads east of the Mississippi River, not only on those whose tracks run parallel with the canal, but upon those which run in an opposite direction." Quoted from the *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1891, p. xlix. "It is not necessary, therefore, that a water line should carry the freight to cheapen the rate; it cheapens what it does not carry as well as what it does. In short, it regulates rates on all lines of carriage that converge at a common point with it." — *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1891, p. xlix.

treal.[51] The railroads connecting these two seaports with the west constituted important commercial highways between which the competition for western agricultural products became quite as active as between the two water lines.

The competition between New York and Montreal was confined almost exclusively to the transportation of the products of the west to Europe. Montreal did not compete with New York City or any other Atlantic seaport for the enormous traffic between the Middle West and the Atlantic seaboard States. This traffic greatly exceeded the traffic between the Middle West and Europe, as shown, for example, by the fact that in 1872, the eastbound shipments of grain amounted to 178,000,000 bushels, of which but 63,000,000 bushels, or 35 per cent, were shipped to Europe.[52] It was the shipment to Europe which constituted the entire volume of grain for which the Montreal route entered into competition with the routes in the United States. The total exports of wheat at Montreal were nearly equal to the total receipts of wheat at that port from the United States.[53] Moreover, all the corn received and shipped at Montreal was exclusively of American growth. It may therefore be assumed that practically all the American wheat and corn transported by the St. Lawrence route was intended for exportation beyond Canada. Nearly all the grain exported from Montreal was shipped to Europe and chiefly to Great Britain.[54] The distance of Montreal from Liverpool via the

[51] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1880, p. 162.

[52] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, p. 120.

[53] For statistics showing the flour and grain receipts and shipments of Montreal from 1860 to 1890 see the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1978.

[54] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, p. 120.

Straits of Belle Isle (the usual route) was 2766 miles; while the distance from New York City to Liverpool was 3075 miles[55]— a difference of over 300 miles in favor of Montreal, although the comparative distance of export trade centers of the Atlantic seaboard from the markets of Europe was of no commercial importance in the determination of ocean freight rates.

Montreal became New York's most formidable competitor for the western flour and grain destined for the continent of Europe. This is shown by the relative increase in the grain receipts of these two cities during the period from 1856 to 1872. The total grain receipts of New York were increased from 57,045,000 bushels in 1856 to 90,482,000 bushels in 1872 — an increase of 33,437,000 bushels, or 57 per cent; while the total grain receipts of Montreal were increased from 4,847,000 bushels in 1854 to 17,629,000 bushels in 1872 — an increase of 12,782,000 bushels, or 263 per cent.[56] The rapid growth in the relative importance of Montreal as an exporting center for western grain and flour led the commercial interests of New York to become alarmed lest the grain trade would be ultimately diverted to the St. Lawrence River. This is evidenced by the *Report of the New York Produce Exchange* for 1875-1876 which observed that "If the export Grain trade shall once be turned down the St. Lawrence, it will be more difficult to regain it than to regain the export trade already diverted to Baltimore and Philadelphia. These large seaboard cities will always have a large Grain trade, but it will be limited chiefly to their domestic requirements for consumption."[57]

55 *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, p. 120.

56 *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange,* 1872–1873, p. 237.

57 *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange,* 1875–1876, p. 224.

But while the competition of Montreal threatened the supremacy of New York City during this period it was not destined to be an effective barrier to the development of that city as a flour and grain market. Nor did it divert the flour and grain traffic to the St. Lawrence route. Although Montreal by the usual route (the Straits of Belle Isle) was nearer to Liverpool than New York City, it was subject to several serious disadvantages as an export center. These disadvantages may be stated as follows:

First. The trade of Montreal was entirely suspended by ice for five months of the year, whereas the harbor of New York was never closed.

Second. The St. Lawrence route was subject to dangers and difficulties in consequence of fogs and floating ice during a period of several weeks after the opening and before the close of navigation.

Third. The rates of insurance on vessels and cargoes from Montreal to Liverpool were higher than the rates on vessels from New York City to Liverpool.

Fourth. Montreal was not advantageously situated as an importing center while New York City was the most favorably situated of all the seaports not only as an exporting but also as an importing center. This was a factor of great importance for the reason that the export trade depends to a large extent upon the import trade which shall pay a part of the expenses of the whole voyage to and from foreign ports. The absence of an import trade had the effect of raising the cost of ocean freights on exports, which constituted a serious disadvantage in competition with ports which are favored by a large import trade.

Fifth. The absence of a sufficiently large and regular amount of shipping at Montreal also rendered the grain and flour exporting business precarious; whereas New York always had a large amount of available shipping.

Sixth. The distance of Montreal from the West Indies and South America was much greater than the distance from New York City to these countries. The St. Lawrence route was not therefore in any sense a competitor of New York City and other Atlantic seaports for the flour and grain exports destined for these markets.

Seventh. Grain and flour shipped to Montreal from the Middle West could not be distributed to points in the Atlantic seaboard States except upon payment of a duty. This had the effect of practically prohibiting such trade, thus giving New York City another advantage over Montreal as a shipping point for western products.

Eighth. Montreal had practically no home market, while New York had a home market which absorbed large quantities of the western surplus which was poured into that city.[58]

These conditions gave New York City a great advantage over Montreal which was reflected in ocean freight rates on grain from these two cities to Liverpool. In 1871 the ocean rates on wheat from Montreal to Liverpool by steamer were four cents a bushel higher than the New York rates. In 1872 the Montreal rate was six and one-half cents higher than the New York rates. These rates more than counterbalanced the advantages which Montreal enjoyed over New York City in freight rates from Chicago. This is illustrated by the fact that in 1872 the wheat rate from Chicago to Liverpool by steamer was 53.7 cents via New York; while it was 56.5 cents via Montreal. By sailing vessel the rate via New York was 51.4 cents; while the rate via Montreal was 57.1 cents. Similar though smaller differences prevailed in the relative rates on corn shipped to Europe via these two cities.[59]

[58] See *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, pp. 120–125, 1880, pp. 161–166.

[59] *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1977.

From 1872 to 1890 the total grain and flour receipts of Montreal were maintained at a fairly even level;[60] while they decreased relatively to the total receipts of New York.[61] At the same time Baltimore and Philadelphia, the leading Atlantic ports south of New York City, began to come in for a larger share of the surplus flour and grain of the Middle West destined for the markets of the east and of western Europe. The diversion of the eastbound grain and flour traffic to these ports therefore next commands brief attention.

It has already been shown that this traffic favored the terminal cities of Chicago and New York City. As long as the great bulk of the eastbound flour and grain was transported by way of the Great Lakes and thence by the Erie Canal-Hudson River route and the New York Central and Erie railroads, New York City enjoyed a great preëminence over other Atlantic ports, her chief rivals being Montreal and Boston. The advantages thus secured by New York City taken in connection with her naturally fine harbor and good terminal facilities gave that city a predominant position in the export and import trade of the country, which was further strengthened by the density of the population tributary to New York. The extension and development of the trunk line railroads south of the northern water and rail routes, however, brought the more southern seaports of Philadelphia and Baltimore nearer to the markets

[60] See total of grain and flour receipts of Montreal during this period in *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1978.

[61] In 1872 the total flour and grain receipts of Montreal amounted to 17,547,000 bushels; while the total receipts of New York City amounted to 90,217,000. In 1890 the total receipts of Montreal amounted to 17,445,000 bushels; while the total receipts of New York City amounted to 122,013,670 bushels.—*Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange*, 1872–1873, pp. 372, 376, 1890–1891, pp. 25, 28.

of the Middle West than New York City.[62] The shorter distance of these cities, as well as the advantage of the different rates which they enjoyed,[63] enabled them to secure a larger proportion of the eastbound traffic than they had hitherto possessed, with the result that New York City declined in relative importance as a flour and grain market, although the total receipts of this city were maintained at a high level throughout the period.

The relative importance of the four leading Atlantic seaboard cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore in the competitive struggle for the western flour and grain traffic is shown by Table VII which gives the percentage of the total volume of flour, wheat, and corn received at these ports for the years 1872 to 1890 inclusive. Norfolk and Newport News, although of negligible importance, are included in this table. It will be seen that while New York City in 1873 secured 61.4 per cent of the total receipts of these six ports, in 1890 the proportion of the traffic secured by this city had been decreased to 50.8 per cent. Boston increased its share of the total receipts from 10.9 per cent in 1873 to 15.2 per cent in 1890.[64] Philadelphia increased its share from 14.3 per cent in 1873 to 15.9 per cent in 1880; but in the eighties Philadelphia suffered a relative decline, its share of the total receipts in 1890 amounting to 8.7 per cent. After 1890, however, Philadelphia recovered its former relative position achieved in

[62] See note 19 above for statement of distances from Chicago to the six Atlantic ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, and Newport News.

[63] See *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, pp. 1984–1986.

[64] For a consideration of the transportation lines and commercial movements of Boston, see *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, Appendix, Nos. 6, 11.

TABLE VII

PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL RECEIPTS OF FLOUR, WHEAT, AND CORN AT EACH OF THE SIX ATLANTIC PORTS OF NEW YORK, BOSTON, PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, NORFOLK, AND NEWPORT NEWS FROM 1873 TO 1890[65]

YEAR	NEW YORK	BOSTON	PHILADELPHIA	BALTIMORE	NORFOLK	NEWPORT NEWS
1873	61.4	10.9	14.3	13.3	0.1	
1874	62.5	9.7	12.6	15.2		
1875	58.0	11.0	16.3	14.6	.1	
1876	47.0	12.0	19.1	21.7	.2	
1877	51.5	12.3	14.3	21.6	.3	
1878	53.6	9.8	17.2	19.3	.1	
1879	51.1	9.8	16.2	22.8	.1	
1880	52.2	11.4	15.9	20.4	.1	
1881	55.1	14.4	11.3	19.1	.1	
1882	57.3	15.7	10.5	16.1		0.4
1883	52.5	17.6	10.8	18.4	.3	.4
1884	54.1	18.0	9.2	18.1		.6
1885	55.5	15.0	10.8	18.1		.6
1886	55.0	15.1	8.2	18.6		3.1
1887	53.4	14.4	11.0	19.4	.3	1.5
1888	54.9	15.9	8.8	19.4	.1	.9
1889	44.5	12.6	17.3	23.8		1.8
1890	50.8	15.2	8.7	24.4		.9

[65] These statistics are taken from a table in the *Report on Trunk Line Traffic and Differential Rates* in the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Department of Commerce and Labor), April, 1904, p. 3979. See also diagrams showing course of flour and grain receipts in millions of bushels at Montreal, Portland, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Norfolk, Newport News, New Orleans, and Galveston for 1880 to 1903, opposite pp. 3976, 3978. For a good discussion of the competitive forces which exerted a controlling influence on the trade relation between the Middle West and the Atlantic ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, see the *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, pp. 67–91.

the seventies as a grain and flour market.[66] Baltimore came in for a large share of this traffic, securing 13.3 per cent of the total receipts in 1873 and gradually increasing its share until 1890 when it secured 24.4 per cent of the total receipts.[67] However, New York City easily retained the lead over its rivals as the foremost flour and grain market on the Atlantic seaboard[68]—a position which it has maintained to the present, though threatened in more recent years by its competitors on the Atlantic and Gulf seaboards. With these facts in mind attention will now be given to a brief consideration of the southbound flour and grain traffic and the relative importance of New Orleans as a flour and grain market during this period.

It has already been shown that New Orleans had by 1860 lost its importance as an export trade center for western flour and grain.[69] Formerly, the cereals of the surplus pro-

[66] For a consideration of the transportation lines and commercial movements of Philadelphia, see *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1880, Appendix, No. 10. See also references under note 67 below.

[67] For a consideration of the transportation lines and commercial interests of Baltimore, see *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, Appendix, No. 7, 1879, Appendix, No. 16, 1880, Appendix, No. 5, 1885, Appendix, No. 71.

[68] For a consideration of the transportation lines and commercial movements of New York City, see *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, Appendix, No. 2, 1879, Appendix, Nos. 1, 2. The volumes of the *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange* for this period contain a great deal of valuable historical information, both descriptive and statistical, bearing on the commercial movements of New York City. These reports are also useful for a study of the commercial movements of the other eastern ports of Montreal, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the Gulf ports of New Orleans and Galveston, and the primary markets of the Middle West. The reports of the Statistician in the annual reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture may also be consulted to advantage in a review of the flour and grain movements of this period. See for example the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture,* 1876, pp. 164–209.

[69] See Schmidt's *The Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1850–1860,* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVIII, pp. 94–124.

ducing areas of the Middle West destined for the consuming sections of the East and the countries of western Europe were sent down the Mississippi River to New Orleans and thence shipped by the coastwise route to the Atlantic ports or exported to Europe. The opening of the water routes and the trunk line railroads between the Middle West and the Atlantic seaboard effected a rapid diversion of this traffic from the southern to the eastern routes and the consequent decline of New Orleans as a flour and grain exporting center. In 1860 New Orleans exported only 80,500 barrels of flour, 2000 bushels of wheat and 224,000 bushels of corn; while the oat and rye shipments were of negligible importance.[70] The Civil War completed the destruction of the New Orleans flour and grain export trade which this city was thereafter unable to recover. This is shown by the fact that in 1873 New Orleans exported less than two and one-half per cent of the entire corn exports of the country and less than one-half of one per cent of the total wheat exports.[71]

But while the competitive struggle between the eastern and southern routes for the western flour and grain destined for the eastern and European markets resulted in a victory of the former, the southern States continued to provide a market for large quantities of breadstuffs, including meat and dairy products, which the Middle West was able to furnish. These commodities were shipped southward by river and rail routes to St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans, and other interior points and seaports which served as distributing centers. There was, in short, a considerable southward movement for western grain and flour not intended for

[70] *Eighth Census of the United States,* 1860, Agriculture, p. clvi.

[71] *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1979.

export but destined for consumption in the south Atlantic and Gulf States. This is to be explained in part as follows:

> The Lancashire cotton famine, caused by our Civil War, had left its mark in the very high prices for cotton which were obtained during the beginning of the decade. Prices ranged from 30 to 100 and even 200 per cent above those of the antebellum period. The result was the going over of the Southern States to the one crop system and the cultivation of cotton to the exclusion of cereals. The South was hailed as the market for the surplus crops of the West, and it was held that it was better to transport grain from the center of the grain belt, a distance of 800 miles to the center of the cotton belt, than to transport it 4,500 miles to Liverpool, especially as it was generally believed that by creating an American demand sufficient to absorb the whole crop, the prices of American grain would be independent of the fluctuations of the British markets. This enhanced grain movement to the South was a consummation the more devoutly to be wished as transportation charges entered far more largely into the price of grain than into that of cotton; the freight to Europe forming only 5 per cent of the Liverpool price for cotton, while for wheat the proportion was 29 and for corn 50 per cent. The vigor with which this policy of sending corn and corn products to the south, and cotton to England, was prosecuted is partially reflected, however, in the extremely low prices of cotton which now prevail.[72]

The Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard ascertained from statistics submitted by chambers of commerce and railroad companies that the eastbound shipments of grain from the Middle West in 1872 amounted to 178,000,000 bushels; while the southbound shipments amounted to 35,000,000 bushels.[73] The southbound shipments therefore amounted to about one-fifth of

[72] *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1979. See also *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. I, pp. 43–45.

[73] *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. I, p. 43.

the eastbound shipments, a considerable portion of which, as already pointed out, was destined for exportation to foreign countries; while the southbound shipments were destined for consumption in the United States. Of the southbound traffic 15,750,000 bushels were shipped from St. Louis, 5,356,000 bushels were shipped from Nashville, 4,965,000 bushels were shipped from Cairo, and 2,784,000 bushels were shipped from Cincinnati, and 6,145,000 bushels were shipped from other points. That is to say, 45 per cent of the total southbound flour and grain traffic in 1872 was shipped from St. Louis, 15 per cent from Nashville, 14 per cent from Cairo, 8 per cent from Cincinnati, and the remaining 12 per cent from shipping points of minor importance. The major part of this traffic was still carried by river, the shipments from Cincinnati being made chiefly by water; while 70 per cent of the shipments from St. Louis and 77 per cent of the shipments from Cairo were made by that route.[74] Thus the southern route for the southbound flour and grain traffic in 1872 still corresponded to a considerable extent with the old Ohio-Mississippi River route of the ante-bellum period.

St. Louis was the most important shipping point on the Ohio-Mississippi-Missouri River system for the surplus flour and grain of the Middle West destined for the southern States.[75] Situated in the heart of the great agricultural empire of the Mississippi Valley and at the junction of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, it occupied a strategic position in the development of the intra-valley trade. It

[74] *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard* (Washington, 1874), Vol. I, pp. 42, 43.

[75] For a consideration of the transportation lines and commercial movements of St. Louis, see the *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, Appendix, No. 13, 1879, pp. 14–35 and Appendix, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 1880, pp. 123–145 and Appendix, No. 2, 1882, pp. 19–54 and Appendix, Nos. 1, 24.

was the gate city through which passed the great bulk of the western flour and grain which was shipped to the consuming States of the south; though Cincinnati,[76] and Louisville[77] on the Ohio River and Cairo[78] at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers came in for a considerable share of this traffic. St. Louis became, moreover, an important railroad center, and the chief competitor of Chicago for the flour and grain traffic of the Middle West during this period.[79] Although St. Louis had become a thriving commercial city before Chicago had achieved any importance, the diversion of the great bulk of the grain traffic from the southern to the eastern routes gave Chicago the unquestioned lead over its rival. Even so, however, St. Louis held second place among the primary flour and grain markets of the Middle West. In 1880 its receipts came from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and California.[80] It supplied most of the grain consumed in the southern States, both east and west of the Mississippi River. It be-

[76] For a consideration of the transportation lines and commercial movements of Cincinnati, see the *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, Appendix, No. 8, 1880, pp. 72–101 and Appendix, No. 3, 1882, Appendix, No. 7.

[77] For a consideration of the transportation lines and commercial movements of Louisville, see the *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, Appendix, Nos. 1, 16, 1879, Appendix, No. 14, 1880, Appendix, No. 7, 1882, Appendix, No. 5.

[78] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1891, p. 80.

[79] For a consideration of the competitive struggle between St. Louis and Chicago for the western flour and grain traffic, see the *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, Appendix, No. 5, 1879, pp. 54–67 and Appendix, Nos. 4, 5, 10, 17.

[80] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1882, p. 32 and Appendix, p. 15.

came an important shipping center after 1856 — the year in which rail connections were first established with the Atlantic seaboard — for large quantities of flour and grain which were sent eastward via the trunk line railroads to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City.[81] The construction of the jetties at the mouth of the Mississippi River in 1879[82] further increased the importance of St. Louis as an exporting center for wheat and corn which found its way southward via New Orleans to the western countries of Europe.[83] In addition to these considerations, St. Louis also became a great flour milling center.[84]

The growth of St. Louis as a distributing point is shown by Table VIII giving the flour and grain shipments from this city by all routes from 1865 to 1890. This shows that while the shipments of flour and grain fluctuated more or less there was a steady increase in the total volume distributed. From 1878 to 1880, the average annual shipments amounted to 37,144,000 bushels; from 1881 to 1885, the average annual shipments were increased to 39,749,000 bushels, and from 1886 to 1890 the average annual shipments were further increased to 44,697,000 bushels.

The shipment of flour and grain by the southern and eastern routes is of special interest and importance as showing the general course of the intra-valley flour and grain trade and the conditions governing its movement. These two movements may be illustrated by the flour and

[81] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1882, Appendix, p. 15.

[82] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department.), 1882, pp. 54–56, 1887, pp. 254–256.

[83] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1882, Appendix, p. 15.

[84] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1882, Appendix, pp. 15, 17, 18, 245–246.

Table VIII

St. Louis Flour and Grain Shipments by All Routes from 1865 to 1890[85]

Year	Flour (Barrels)	Wheat (Bushels)	Corn (Bushels)	Oats (Bushels)	Barley (Bushels)	Rye (Bushels)	Total Grain, Including Flour Reduced to Bushels
1865	1,521,465	67,710	2,591,155	3,083,864	50,000	32,445	13,427,052
1866	1,700,740	635,818	6,757,199	2,624,044	89,750	225,460	18,835,969
1867	1,450,475	321,888	4,318,937	2,244,756	55,720	56,076	14,249,752
1868	1,499,337	542,231	1,611,618	1,925,579	64,426	192,553	11,860,097
1869	2,172,761	1,715,005	1,298,863	2,903,002	57,134	110,947	16,148,756
1870	1,790,739	636,562	3,637,060	3,144,744	70,451	100,254	21,039,776
1871	2,676,525	1,048,532	4,469,849	2,484,582	62,843	138,756	21,587,187
1872	2,247,040	918,477	8,079,739	3,467,594	87,566	150,208	23,885,784
1873	2,506,215	1,210,286	5,260,916	3,215,206	125,604	206,652	22,549,739
1874	2,981,760	1,938,841	4,148,556	3,027,663	227,418	166,133	24,417,411
1875	2,480,877	1,562,453	3,523,974	2,877,035	146,330	134,960	20,649,147
1876	2,217,578	2,630,007	12,728,849	1,932,983	223,680	304,192	28,907,601
1877	2,295,657	2,410,190	9,309,014	1,550,665	188,251	397,183	25,333,588
1878	2,670,740	6,900,802	6,382,712	1,792,801	244,799	757,621	29,432,435
1879	3,045,035	7,302,076	8,311,005	2,154,026	260,422	423,720	33,676,424
1880	3,292,803	11,313,879	17,571,322	2,541,613	155,113	276,041	48,321,983
1881	2,696,245	6,921,630	15,390,180	3,222,858	187,064	304,761	39,509,218
1882	3,305,765	12,446,060	9,376,975	4,410,011	86,245	344,870	41,540,103
1883	2,751,182	6,430,765	15,199,849	3,047,559	180,900	393,557	37,632,949
1884	3,014,105	7,177,982	16,533,259	3,082,360	169,781	700,526	41,227,380
1885	2,551,499	2,332,609	20,491,416	3,680,829	210,340	636,640	38,833,580
1886	2,243,361	2,429,462	11,848,995	2,764,922	215,377	337,018	27,690,878
1887	2,594,881	6,238,268	13,841,172	3,780,729	291,337	175,352	36,003,822
1888	2,682,405	4,412,506	15,904,759	5,414,764	324,083	275,233	38,402,167
1889	2,859,389	5,351,141	30,049,187	6,803,877	352,173	809,072	56,232,700
1890	2,880,324	3,688,015	40,616,333	7,191,868	230,155	467,360	65,155,187

[85] The statistics in Table VIII are taken from tables in the *Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of St. Louis*, 1883, pp. 85, 86; 1896, pp. 149,

grain shipments for the year 1878. In that year the flour shipments south amounted to 1,018,000 barrels which represented 38.9 per cent of the total shipments. Of this amount, 452,000 barrels were sent by rail; while 566,000 barrels were sent by river. The flour shipments east amounted to 1,601,000 barrels, which represented 61.1 per cent of the total. Of this amount 1,579,000 barrels were sent by rail and 22,000 barrels were sent by river. The wheat shipments south amounted to 2,126,000 bushels, or 31.5 per cent of the total. Of this amount the railroads carried 228,000 bushels; while the river handled 1,898,000 bushels. The shipments east amounted to 4,625,000 bushels, or 68.5 per cent of the entire shipments, and of this amount the railroads carried 4,610,000 bushels and the river carried 15,000 bushels. The corn shipments south amounted to 3,747,000 bushels, or 58.8 per cent of the total shipments, of which the railroads carried but 363,000 bushels, while the river handled 3,384,000 bushels. The shipments east amounted to 2,628,000 bushels, or 41.2 per cent of the entire shipments, of which the railroads carried 2,604,000 bushels, while the river carried but 24,000 bushels. The entire flour and grain movement (including wheat, corn, oats, barley, rye, and flour reduced to bushels) south amounted to 13,373,000 bushels which represented 46.13 per cent of the entire shipments, of which the railroads transported 3,314,000 bushels, while the river carried 10,059,000 bushels. The shipments east amounted to 15,614,000 bushels, which represented 53.9 per cent of the entire shipments, of which amount the rail-

150; the *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1880, Appendix, p. 39; the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, pp. 2006, 2007. The writer is indebted to Mr. Eugene Smith, Secretary of the Merchants Exchange of St. Louis, for assistance in the preparation of this table.

roads carried 15,456,000 bushels; while the river carried but 158,000 bushels.[86]

These statistics show: first, the relative importance of the eastward and southward flour and grain movements; and, second, the relative importance of the rail and water routes in the transportation of these commodities. It will be noted that the establishment of trunk line connections between St. Louis and the Atlantic seaboard effected a diversion of a considerable amount of traffic from the southern to the eastern routes, thus making St. Louis a competitor of New Orleans whereas formerly the commercial interests of these two cities were identical. The building of the southern trunk line railroads in the seventies effected a further diversion of traffic from the Mississippi River. While it is impossible owing to the lack of statistical data, to show the relative importance of the river and rail routes in the transportation of flour and grain to New Orleans it is clearly evident that the railroads in the eighties began a rapid absorption of this traffic.[87] Great quantities of breadstuffs were also shipped by rail directly into the southern States from St. Louis, Cairo, Memphis, Vicksburg, Louisville, and Cincinnati. At the same time the construction of the north and south railroads west of the Mississippi River brought Galveston into prominence during the latter part of this period as a flour and grain market.

The relative importance of the Atlantic and Gulf ports in the competitive struggle for the surplus flour and grain traffic of the Middle West may now be summarized.

In 1866 (Table IX) New York easily held first place with 59,470,000 bushels of grain. New Orleans ranked second

[86] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1879, pp. 25, 26, 1880, pp. 52–59, 135, 136.

[87] See *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), January, 1900, p. 1981.

Table IX

Flour and Grain Receipts of the Six Principal Seaboard Cities for the Year 1866[88]

Seaboard Markets	Flour (Barrels)	Wheat (Bushels)	Corn (Bushels)
Montreal	740,750	951,597	2,122,873
New York	2,721,657	5,766,664	22,218,519
Boston	1,504,253	16,537	2,157,292
Philadelphia	537,512	1,219,670	1,503,394
Baltimore	179,298	1,359,605	4,479,030
New Orleans	993,331	1,431	6,009,528

Seaboard Markets	Oats (Bushels)	Barley (Bushels)	Rye (Bushels)	Total Grain, Including Flour Reduced to Bushels
Montreal	2,069,747	173,872	336,390	10,394,454
New York	8,703,220	5,076,203	1,277,701	59,469,684
Boston	1,219,717	190,658	37,864	7,521,265
Philadelphia	1,570,218		279,673	7,260,515
Baltimore	1,333,515	73,490		8,197,130
New Orleans	1,285,728			12,288,590

with 12,289,000 bushels. Montreal was third with 10,394,000 bushels. Baltimore stood fourth with 8,197,000 bushels. Boston was fifth with 7,521,000 bushels. Philadelphia stood sixth with 7,261,000 bushels.

In 1870 (Table X) New York held first place with 70,520,000 bushels of grain. Philadelphia advanced from sixth to second place with 15,307,000 bushels. New Orleans was reduced from second to third place with 14,602,000 bushels.

[88] The statistics used in Table IX are taken from tables in the *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange,* 1872–1873, p. 338, 1873–1874, pp. 282, 347, 348, 350, 354. The total grain receipts of these ports as listed in the last column include the following items not given in Table IX: Montreal, 1,036,000 bushels of peas; New York, 418,000 barrels of corn meal, 553,000 bushels of peas, and 594,000 bushels of malt; Boston, 26,000 bushels of corn meal; Baltimore, 55,000 bushels of peas; and New Orleans, 25,000 bushels of beans.

TABLE X

FLOUR AND GRAIN RECEIPTS OF THE SIX PRINCIPAL SEABOARD CITIES FOR THE YEAR 1870[89]

SEABOARD MARKETS	FLOUR (BARRELS)	WHEAT (BUSHELS)	CORN (BUSHELS)
MONTREAL	1,032,091	6,153,392	82,713
NEW YORK	4,120,941	23,913,748	9,230,340
BOSTON	1,562,579	213,471	2,420,942
PHILADELPHIA	1,015,127	3,294,400	3,080,250
BALTIMORE	1,117,314	3,039,357	3,831,676
NEW ORLEANS	1,541,281	13,765	4,886,460

SEABOARD MARKETS	OATS (BUSHELS)	BARLEY (BUSHELS)	RYE (BUSHELS)	TOTAL GRAIN, INCLUDING FLOUR REDUCED TO BUSHELS
MONTREAL	48,371	17,629	34,634	12,230,093
NEW YORK	9,621,946	3,907,822	563,184	70,520,445
BOSTON	2,166,603	390,514	34,480	13,102,703
PHILADELPHIA	2,360,543	775,850	720,333	15,307,011
BALTIMORE	1,243,720		77,778	13,819,101
NEW ORLEANS	1,970,928			14,601,922

Baltimore still held fourth place with 13,819,000 bushels. Boston still held fifth place with 13,103,000 bushels. Montreal was reduced from third to sixth place with 12,230,000 bushels.

In 1880 (Table XI) New York held first place with 169,042,000 bushels. Baltimore advanced from fourth to second place with 60,631,000 bushels. Philadelphia dropped from second to third place with 49,255,000 bushels. Boston ad-

[89] The statistics used in Table X are taken from tables in the *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange*, 1872–1873, p. 338, 1873–1874, pp. 282, 347, 348, 350, 354. The total grain receipts of these ports as listed in the last column include the following items not given in Table X: Montreal, 833,000 bushels of peas; New York, 827,000 bushels of corn meal, 199,000 bushels of peas, and 1,054,000 bushels of malt; Boston, 35,000 bushels of corn meal; Baltimore, 40,000 bushels of peas; and New Orleans, 24,000 bushels of beans.

TABLE XI

FLOUR AND GRAIN RECEIPTS OF THE SIX PRINCIPAL SEABOARD CITIES FOR THE YEAR 1880[90]

SEABOARD MARKETS	FLOUR (BARRELS)	WHEAT (BUSHELS)	CORN (BUSHELS)
MONTREAL	735,596	9,637,124	7,772,549
NEW YORK	5,422,353	59,492,246	61,076,810
BOSTON	2,730,715	3,920,317	16,161,419
PHILADELPHIA	933,944	15,123,330	24,950,750
BALTIMORE	1,313,012	36,414,393	16,590,291
NEW ORLEANS	642,460	6,707,982	11,508,685

SEABOARD MARKETS	OATS (BUSHELS)	BARLEY (BUSHELS)	RYE (BUSHELS)	TOTAL GRAIN, INCLUDING FLOUR REDUCED TO BUSHELS
MONTREAL	1,191,531	443,528	357,176	25,329,746
NEW YORK	13,997,960	3,929,517	2,045,758	169,042,362
BOSTON	3,559,392	422,165	31,070	37,091,005
PHILADELPHIA	3,638,760	1,049,600	117,000	49,255,163
BALTIMORE	1,172,487	321,125	224,506	60,631,426
NEW ORLEANS	1,598,180		45,208	22,754,957

vanced from fifth to fourth place with 37,091,000 bushels. Montreal advanced from sixth to fifth place with 25,330,000 bushels. New Orleans dropped from third to sixth place with 22,755,000 bushels.

In 1890 (Table XII) New York held first place with 122,014,000 bushels. Baltimore continued to hold second place with 46,435,000 bushels. Philadelphia still held third place with 35,215,000 bushels. Boston continued to hold fourth

[90] The statistics used in Table XI are taken from the *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange*, 1881, pp. 402–407. The total grain receipts of these ports as listed in the last column include the following items not given in Table XI: Montreal, 2,618,000 bushels of peas; New York, 991,000 bushels of corn meal, 291,000 bushels of peas, and 2,820,000 bushels of malt; Boston, 708,000 bushels of corn meal; Philadelphia, 173,000 bushels of malt; and New Orleans, 4,000 bushels of beans.

Table XII

Flour and Grain Receipts of the Six Principal Seaboard Cities for the Year 1890[91]

Seaboard Markets	Flour (Barrels)	Wheat (Bushels)	Corn (Bushels)
Montreal	978,843	4,155,970	5,302,057
New York	5,635,384	15,794,857	34,261,466
Boston	2,494,671	526,965	9,659,010
Philadelphia	2,164,422	1,644,582	17,949,350
Baltimore	3,369,759	6,378,638	21,093,894
New Orleans	640,373	1,593,275	13,780,264

Seaboard Markets	Oats (Bushels)	Barley (Bushels)	Rye (Bushels)	Total Grain, Including Flour Reduced to Bushels
Montreal	1,648,193	167,996	282,014	17,444,966
New York	33,744,000	4,295,640	1,228,393	122,013,670
Boston	7,636,618	396,863	119,715	30,815,742
Philadelphia	4,522,670	1,056,300	98,425	35,214,826
Baltimore	2,556,630	288,036	469,880	46,435,135
New Orleans	3,320,225			21,575,442

place with 30,816,000 bushels. New Orleans forged ahead again from sixth to fifth place with 21,575,000 bushels, thus replacing Montreal which dropped from fifth to sixth place with 17,445,000 bushels.

In concluding this study of the internal grain trade of the United States during the period from 1860 to 1890 it should be borne in mind that the movement of flour and grain from the Middle West to the Atlantic and Gulf seaboards may be

[91] The statistics used in Table XII are taken from tables in the *Annual Report of the New York Produce Exchange*, 1890–1891, pp. 25–28. The total grain receipts of these ports as listed in the last column include the following items not given in Table XII: Montreal, 1,484,000 bushels of peas; New York, 619,000 bushels of peas, 5,027,000 bushels of malt, and 1,685,000 bushels of corn meal; Boston, 1,251,000 bushels of corn meal; Philadelphia, 204,000 bushels of malt; and Baltimore, 484,000 bushels of malt.

divided into the following classes of shipments which were subject to varying degrees of competition:

1. Direct shipments from the Middle West to interior points in the States of the Atlantic seaboard. This traffic was for consumption at these points. It was less affected by the competition of rival lines and of rival seaports. It was in some cases confined to one of the trunk lines and consequently formed a part of its local traffic. In other cases two or three trunk lines might compete for this traffic, but it was excluded from the direct competition of all the trunk lines by certain well defined geographic limitations.

2. Shipments from the Middle West to the Atlantic and Gulf ports. This traffic was destined either for local consumption, or for distribution coast-wise or to interior parts in the United States, or for exportation to foreign countries. It was also competitive but not to such a great extent as direct shipments from interior parts of the Middle West to the markets of Europe. The movement of grain and flour from the Middle West to the seaport markets involved not only the question of transportation routes and facilities but also the question of relative advantages afforded by the several markets, the relative magnitude of the home and foreign demand, and the facilities for storage and for interior, coast-wise, or foreign shipments at each port.

3. Direct shipments from interior points of the Middle West to Europe. This traffic was in the highest sense competitive, since the trunk line railroads from such interior points connected directly with ocean-steamship lines to Europe at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.[92]

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[92] *Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department), 1876, pp. 69–78.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Recent History of the United States. By Frederic L. Paxson. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1921. Pp. 603. Plates, maps. This volume covers the period of United States history from the close of the Civil War down to the date of publication, eleven of the fifty-seven chapters dealing with the part of the United States in the World War. While the emphasis naturally is on political developments during this period, much attention is given to the industrial and economic factors and one chapter is devoted to a discussion of sport in the United States. Each chapter is followed by bibliographical notes and an index is provided.

The Convention of 1846 and *The Struggle over Ratification, 1846–1847.* Edited by Milo M. Quaife. Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1919, 1920. Pp. 827 and 716. Plates. These publications constitute volumes two and three of the *Constitutional Series.* Volume one, *The Movement for Statehood, 1845–1846,* appeared some time ago. *The Convention of 1846* presents the story of the first constitutional convention in Wisconsin held at Madison in 1846. The Journal of the convention is reproduced and supplemented by speeches and editorials from contemporary newspapers. Three appendices furnish "A Record of the Votes on Roll Call in the Convention of 1846", "The Constitution of 1846", and "Biographical Sketches of the Members of the Convention of 1846".

The third volume in the series, *The Struggle Over Ratification, 1846–1847,* is almost exclusively a compilation of letters, editorials, debates, and speeches relating to the work of the convention and the constitution, reprinted from the newspapers of the period. The result of the referendum vote was 20,233 votes against the constitution and only 14,119 for it. Indices are provided for both volumes.

To the historian interested in the psychology of the people as

well as in facts and dates such collections are invaluable. The arguments for and against banks, homestead exemptions, the election of judges, and property rights of women, throw much light on the life of the people of that time.

The Centennial of the State of Illinois. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. Springfield: The Illinois Centennial Commission. 1920. Pp. 489. As its name implies this volume is a report of the work of the Centennial Commission and the various activities which marked the hundredth anniversary of the statehood of Illinois. Included are a number of speeches made on various occasions, documents relating to the centennial celebration, lists of names of those taking part in memorial programs, and a list of the publications of the Commission. A copious index completes the volume.

John Ross and the Cherokee Indians is a monograph by Rachel Caroline Eaton which has recently appeared.

The House of the Great Kiva at the Aztec Ruin, by Earl H. Morris, is a monograph published in a recent number of the *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History.*

Two of the articles in *The Cavalry Journal* for October, 1921, are the following: *The First Regiment of Cavalry, United States Army* and *The Reserve Officers' Training Corps at a Large University,* by Robert W. Grow.

American History in Westminster Abbey, by Mary Dudderidge, *Panama Canal and Recent World Politics,* by Guy V. Price, and *Reorganization of Social Studies in the Secondary Schools,* by H. F. Taggart, are three of the papers in *The Historical Outlook* for November, 1921. In the following number two of the articles are *History for History's Sake,* by Howard C. Hill, and *A Survey of Methods Courses in History,* by Bessie L. Pierce.

In One Man's Life: Being Chapters from the Personal and Business Career of Theodore N. Vail, by Albert Bigelow Paine, is a recent biography of especial interest to Iowa readers since Theodore N. Vail, one of the prominent leaders in the development of the tele-

phone, was as a young man a resident of Iowa for several years, living at Waterloo and Iowa City.

Four of the articles in the issue of *Americana* for October, 1921, are as follows: *Nantucket — Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow,* by Amelia Day Campbell; *American Magazines, Past and Present,* by Charles A. Ingraham; *The Early American Press,* by John Woolf Jordan; and *The Missouri Centennial,* by Fenwick Y. Hedley.

Charles Mason Dow is the editor of an *Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls* in two volumes which has been published by the State of New York. Travellers' original descriptions, plates, and maps add much to the interest of the publication.

WESTERN AMERICANA

John Elbert Stout is the author of a monograph entitled *The Development of High-School Curricula in the North Central States from 1860 to 1918* which is published as one of the *Supplementary Educational Monographs* of the University of Chicago.

The Pilgrim Tercentenary Celebration at the University of Illinois, 1920, a publication of the University, contains an address on *The Place of the Pilgrims in American History,* by Evarts Boutell Greene, and a poem *The Puritan Pilgrim: To Them that Sit in the Seats of the Scorners,* by Ernest Bernbaum.

The *Journal of History* for July, 1921, contains a paper on the *Periodical Literature of the Latter Day Saints,* by Walter W. Smith, a biography of James W. Gillen, by H. O. Smith, and a historical sketch entitled *The High Council,* by Roy L. Roberts.

Library Notes and News published by the Minnesota State Department of Education includes in the issue for October, 1921, a report of the meeting of the Minnesota Library Association held at St. Paul, October 31–November 2, 1921.

Missouri One Hundred Years Ago is the title of a centennial drama written by Thomas Wood Stevens and published by the Saint Louis Missouri Centennial Association. This production was

prepared and presented in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of Missouri's admission to the Union and the actors in many cases represent real characters in Missouri's history such as Auguste Chouteau, Daniel Boone, and Thomas Hart Benton. Others are representative of a class, as the gambler, the slave dealer, and the miner.

IOWANA

The Alumnus of Iowa State College for October, 1921, contains the Commencement address delivered by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in June, 1921.

Notice to the Guarantor — in Iowa, by Rollin M. Perkins, and a review of *Recent Iowa Legislation,* by Herbert F. Goodrich, Edwin W. Patterson, D. O. McGovney, C. W. Wassam, and E. B. Reuter, make up the issue of the *Iowa Law Bulletin* for November, 1921.

Rev. C. C. Townsend, Organizer of the First Episcopal Mission in Johnson County, Iowa, by Charles W. Irish, is an article of historical interest in the December, 1921, issue of *The Iowa Churchman.*

The July-September, 1921, issue of *Iowa Conservation* contains an account of the session of the American School of Wild Life, held at McGregor in August, 1921.

The *Iowa Library Quarterly* for October-November-December, 1921, contains a report of the meeting of the Iowa Library Association at Ames, on October 12 and 13, 1921. This includes the President's Address, by C. W. Sumner, an address entitled *Stepping Stones to Correct Taste,* by A. B. Noble, and a brief tribute to William P. Payne, pioneer preacher, teacher, editor, and library trustee, who died recently at Nevada.

The *Report of Legislative Committee,* by H. Michelstetter, is published in the October, 1921, issue of *American Municipalities.* This includes much information concerning the legislation of the Thirty-ninth General Assembly. In the number for November is the report of the twenty-fourth annual convention of the League of Iowa

Municipalities, held at Sioux City, August 16–18, 1921. There is also an article on *Iowa Law of Rate Regulation,* by Wm. Chamberlain. In the December issue Anson Marston writes of the *Iowa State Highway Commission and Its Work.*

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Aitchison, Alison E.,
Iowa State Geography. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1921.

Aldrich, Bess Streeter,
The Man Who Dreaded to Go Home (The American Magazine, November, 1921).

Angell, E. I., (Joint author)
Soil Survey of Marshall County, Iowa. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture. 1921.

Artis, G. H., (Joint author)
Soil Survey of Palo Alto County, Iowa. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture. 1921.

Aurner, Clarence Ray,
Iowa Stories, Vol. III. Iowa City: Privately printed. 1921.
The Story of Old Capitol (The Iowa Alumnus, October, 1921).

Austin, Fred H.,
Cost Keeping on Construction Work (Proceedings of the Iowa Engineering Society, 1921).

Ayres, Q. C.,
Ditch Design and Prevention of Silt Deposit (Proceedings of the Iowa Engineering Society, 1921).

Baldwin, Bird Thomas,
Measuring the Child's Mind (The Delineator, October, 1921).

Baldwin, Bird Thomas, (Joint author)
Charting the Growth of Your Child (The Delineator, October, 1921).

$40,000 for a Hog, How Much for Your Child? (The Delineator, September, 1921).

Bartow, Edward,

New Chemistry Building (The Iowa Alumnus, November, 1921).

The New Chemistry Building (The Transit, December, 1921).

Beckman, F. W.,

Journalism for Engineers (The Iowa Engineer, November, 1921).

Bennett, George,

The American School of Wild Life, Session 1921 (Iowa Conservation, July-September, 1921).

Benton, T. H., (Joint author)

Soil Survey of Adair County, Iowa. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture. 1921.

Betts, George Herbert,

The New Program of Religious Education. New York: Abingdon Press. 1921.

Bowman, James Cloyd,

On the Des Moines. Boston: The Cornhill Publishing Co. 1921.

Briggs, John Ely,

The Legislation of the Thirty-ninth General Assembly of Iowa (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, October, 1921).

Brown, Bernice,

Being a Nobody (Collier's Weekly, September 17, 1921).

The Man Who Married a Dumb-Bell (Collier's Weekly, December 10, 1921).

Buchanan, Robert E.,

Agricultural and Industrial Bacteriology. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1921.

Butler, Ellis Parker,

Everybody Thinks Everybody Else is Ungrateful (The American Magazine, December, 1921).

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year (poem) (St. Nicholas, December, 1921).

Once a Penguin Always a Penguin (Harper's Monthly Magazine, June, 1921).

You Folks in the Audience (The American Magazine, May, 1921).

Camp, Harold Laverne,

Scales for Measuring Results of Physics Teaching. Iowa City: The State University of Iowa. 1921.

Carr, O. E.,

The City Manager Plan (Proceedings of the Iowa Engineering Society, 1921).

Carver, Thomas Nixon,

Principles of National Economy. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1921.

Chamberlin, Harold,

The Men and the Game (The Iowa Alumnus, October, 1921).

Chassell, E. D.,

Farm Mortgage Bankers and Farmers Unite to Fight Tax Exemption (The Northwestern Banker, October, 1921).

Clark, Donald H.,

How Iowa Banks Can Help Farmers Hold Grain for Fair Prices (The Northwestern Banker, December, 1921).

Iowa Country Bankers Say That Conditions Are Improving (The Northwestern Banker, November, 1921).

When the First National Bank Went to the County Fair (The Northwestern Banker, December, 1921).

Consoliver, E. L.,

The Field of Automotive Electricity (The Transit, December, 1921).

Corson, George E., (Joint author)
Soil Survey of Polk County, Iowa. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture. 1921.

Craig, Hardin,
Philological Quarterly (The Iowa Alumnus, November, 1921).

Critz, P. F.,
Track Maintenance on Railroads (The Iowa Engineer, November, 1921).

Crum, R. W.,
Quality Specifications for Concrete Drain Tile (Proceedings of the Iowa Engineering Society, 1921).

De Puy, Clifford,
Business Conditions As I Found Them on a 10,000 Mile Trip (The Northwestern Banker, December, 1921).

Devine, Edward Thomas,
Montana Farmers (The Survey, December 17, 1921).

Diederichs, W. J.,
A Word about Heat Treatment (The Iowa Engineer, November, 1921).

Farr, Clifford H.,
Plant Life and Human Affairs (School Science and Mathematics, December, 1921).

Farrell, Mrs. Mabel, (Peggy Poe)
How Daddy Possum and Pappy Rabbit Played Santa Claus (The Iowa Homestead, December 22, 1921).

Ferber, Edna,
The Girls. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. 1921.

Ficke, Arthur Davison,
Marcia (poem) (The Midland, December, 1921).

Ford, Arthur H.,
The Adjustment of Automobile Headlights (The Transit, November, 1921).

Gallaher, Ruth Augusta,
A Race Riot on the Mississippi (The Palimpsest, December, 1921).

Galpin, S. L.,
Quality Specifications for Clay Drain Tile (Proceedings of the Iowa Engineering Society, 1921).

Gross, Chas. E.,
The Construction and Locations of Surface Inlets (Proceedings of the Iowa Engineering Society, 1921).

Hall, James Norman, (Joint author)
Faery Lands of the South Seas. New York: Harper & Bros. 1921.

Hansen, Marcus Lee,
Welfare Work in Iowa. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1921.

Hanson, Leslie,
Reduction of Taxes May be a Great Benefit of Disarmament Meet (The Northwestern Banker, December, 1921).
Should the United States Cancel Its Accounts with European Countries? (The Northwestern Banker, October, 1921).

Hart, Hornell,
A Socialization Test (The Survey, November 12, 1921).

Heindel, George F.,
The Case Against Our $18,000,000,000 of Tax Exempt Bonds (The Northwestern Banker, October, 1921).

Hinman, Jack J., Jr.,
Water Purification in Iowa (Proceedings of the Iowa Engineering Society, 1921).

Horn, Ernest,
Relation of Silent Reading to Efficiency (Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association, 1920).

Hornaday, William Temple,

Gorilla that Lived Like a Human (Mentor, November, 1921).

Study in Offspring Herds (Scientific American, November, 1921).

Zebras in New York (Scientific American, October 15, 1921).

Hough, Emerson,

The Astonishing Suzanne (The Red Book, June, 1921).

Hueston, Ethel,

Little Lady Comb. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1921.

Hutchinson, Woods,

Fall Colds (Ladies' Home Journal, November, 1921).

Hyland, Mark L.,

Football Anecdotes (The Iowa Alumnus, October, 1921).

Irish, Jno. P.,

Augustus Caesar Dodge (The Palimpsest, December, 1921).

Jamison, James H.,

Some Observations on the New Iowa Inheritance Tax Law (The Northwestern Banker, November, 1921).

Jones, Franklin D.,

The Status of Farmers Co-operative Associations under Federal Law (Journal of Political Economy, July, 1921).

Knipe, Alden Arthur, and Knipe, Emilie Benson,

Diantha's Quest. New York: Macmillan Co. 1921.

The Luck of Denewood (St. Nicholas, December, 1920–October, 1921).

The Luck of Denewood. New York: Century Co. 1921.

McPeak, Ival,

A Prairie Symphony (The Midland, September-October, 1921).

Mahan, Bruce E.,

Old Fort Atkinson (The Palimpsest, November, 1921).

The Way to Iowa (The Palimpsest, October, 1921).

Meeker, Robert J.,
Treasure Undiscovered (Rock Island Magazine, December, 1921).

Meister, Charles J., (Joint author)
Soil Survey of Polk County, Iowa. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture. 1921.

Meredith, Edwin Thomas,
Business and Agriculture (North American Review, October, 1921).

Merry, Glenn Newton,
A Speaking Voice Laboratory (The Iowa Alumnus, November, 1921).

Messerschmidt, R. M.,
What Makes a Banker Successful (The Northwestern Banker, December, 1921).

Mitchell, H. L.,
The Circus Comes to Town. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1921.

Murphy, Thomas D.,
On Sunset Highways (Second edition). Boston: Page Co. 1921.

Newton, Joseph Fort,
Preaching in London (Atlantic Monthly, August, September, October, 1921).

Noble, A. B.,
Stepping Stones to Correct Taste (Iowa Library Quarterly, October-September, 1921).

Parish, John Carl,
A Study in Heads (The Palimpsest, October, 1921).

Parrott, F. W.,
Primary and Secondary Road Assessments (Proceedings of the Iowa Engineering Society, 1921).

Patrick, G. T. W.,
The Play of a Nation (The Scientific Monthly, October, 1921).

Patzig, Monroe L.,
Pavements (Proceedings of the Iowa Engineering Society, 1921).

Perkins, Rollin M.,
Notice to the Guarantor — in Iowa (Iowa Law Bulletin, November, 1921).

Piper, Edwin Ford,
Johnny Cook (poem) (The Midland, December, 1921).

Quick, John Herbert,
Vandemark's Folly (The Ladies' Home Journal, October, November, and December, 1921).
Vandemark's Folly. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1921.

Rietz, Henry Lewis, (Joint author)
Mathematics of Finance. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1921.

Roberts, George Evan,
Remedies for Industrial Depression (The American Review of Reviews, November, 1921).

Ross, Edward Alsworth,
Education in Recent Sociology (Education, October, 1921).

Rubey, F. E.,
Optimism Is Fine, but Don't Try to Fool Yourself or Your Clients (The Northwestern Banker, November, 1921).

Russell, F. M., (Joint author)
Soil Survey of Palo Alto County, Iowa. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture. 1921.

Seashore, Carl Emil,
George Trumbull Ladd (Science, September 16, 1921).

Shaw, Leslie M.,
Sane Taxation vs. the Single Tax (The Northwestern Banker, October, 1921).

Smith, Lewis Worthington,
On Being Different (The Reviewer, December, 1921).

Stefánsson, Vilhjálmur,
The Friendly Arctic. New York: Macmillan Co. 1921.

Stout, George L.,
Art Education at Iowa (The Iowa Alumnus, November, 1921).

Sweeney, O. R.,
Manufacture of Toxic Gases for Use in Modern Warfare (The Iowa Engineer, December, 1921).

Titus, Lydia Arnold,
From New York to Iowa (The Palimpsest, October, 1921).

Watts, C. E., (Joint author)
Soil Survey of Palo Alto County, Iowa. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture. 1921.

Wetherell, Frank E.,
City Planning and the Conservation of Wild Life (Iowa Conservation, July-September, 1921).

Weichmann, P. C., (Joint author)
Soil Survey of Adair County, Iowa. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture. 1921.

Woodward, S. M.,
Hydraulic Fill Dams and Levees (Proceedings of the Iowa Engineering Society, 1921).

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

Sixty years on the *Mirror,* in the *Clinton Mirror,* October 1, 1921.

Across the plains in 1864, by John S. Collins, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* October 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, November 5, 12, 19, 26, December 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1921.

Recollections of the Mississippi River, by J. M. Turner, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* October 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, November 5, 12, 19, 26, December 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1921.

The life and adventures of Captain Stephen B. Hanks, edited by Fred A. Bill, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* Octo-

ber 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, November 5, 12, 19, 26, December 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1921.

George McKinley, pioneer stage driver of Marengo, in the *Marengo Republican,* October 5, 1921, and the *Marengo Democrat,* November 30, 1921.

Journalism in the eighties, in the *Sac City Bulletin,* October 5, 1921.

William Harrison, an old time fiddler, in the *Keosauqua Republican,* October 6, 1921.

The decay of water transportation, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk,* October 6, 1921.

Reminiscences of Indian leaders in Iowa, in the *Madrid News,* October 6, 1921.

The organization of Iowa Territory, in the *Shenandoah Post,* October 7, 1921.

Iowa mounds, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* October 7, 1921.

McGregor dam built in 1828, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald,* October 8, 1921.

J. S. Barnett, pioneer sheriff of Cass County, in the *Atlantic News,* October 8, 1921.

Old Des Moines River boats and pilots, by Jasper Blines, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* October 8, 1921.

Fox hunting in Iowa, in the *Des Moines Register,* October 9, 1921.

Indian remains in Allamakee County, in the *Waukon Standard,* October 12, 1921, the *Newton News,* October 21, 1921, and the *Adel Record,* October 25, 1921.

The Spirit Lake Massacre, in the *Spencer Reporter,* October 12, 1921.

Reminiscences of early days in Waukon, by Mrs. Callie B. Letchford, in the *Waukon Standard,* October 12, 1921.

Sketch of the life of Sylvester Lyman, in the *Missouri Valley Times,* October 12, 1921.

Fredonia, candidate for State capital, in the *Keota Eagle,* October 13, 1921, and the *Fairfield Tribune,* October 20, 1921.

Semi-centennial of the Salem Lutheran Church, in the *Creston Advertiser Gazette,* October 13, 1921.

Frontier experiences of Pleasant Chitwood, sheriff of Boone County, in the *Madrid News,* October 13, 1921.

John Roush, pioneer miller of Lewis, in the *Atlantic News,* October 14, 1921.

First horse car in Sioux City, in the *Sioux City Journal,* October 14, 1921

Steamboats on the Des Moines River, by Hiram Heaton, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* October 15, 1921.

Pioneer Scenes in Black Hawk County, in the *Waterloo Courier,* October 15, 1921.

First school house in Waterloo, in the *Waterloo Courier,* October 15, 1921.

John Barker, veteran railroad engineer, in the *Des Moines Register,* October 16, 1921, and the *Waukon Standard,* October 19, 1921.

Semi-centennial celebration at Shenandoah, in the *Shenandoah Post,* October 17, 1921.

Sketch of the life of Asa Platt, Sac City's oldest resident, in the *Sioux City Journal,* October 17, 1921.

The disappearance of James Putnam, in the *Burlington Gazette,* October 18, 1921.

Steamboat Rock, by John F. Kraft, in the *Eldora Herald,* October 20, 1921

Newspaper men from Prairie Township, Keokuk County, in the *Keota Eagle,* October 20, 1921.

Indian entertainment at Britt, in the *Britt News,* October 20, 1921.

Road from Keokuk to Iowa City, in the *Keokuk Gate City,* October 21, 1921.

Early history of Fort Crawford, in the *Newton News,* October 21, 1921, and the *Humboldt Independent,* October 27, 1921.

Sketch of the life of Samuel R. Ballard, pioneer railroad builder, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye,* October 25, 1921.

Sketch of the life of W. P. Payne, in the *Nevada Representative,* October 25, 1921.

Escape from wolves near New Hampton, in the *New Hampton Tribune,* October 26, 1921.

Sketch of the life of William F. King, in the *Mt. Vernon Record,* October 26, 1921.

Mammoth tooth in Allamakee County, in the *Waukon Standard,* October 26, 1921.

Ancient firearm in gravel pit in Woodbury County, in the *Correctionville News,* October 27, 1921.

Old rivermen of the Mississippi, by Fred A. Bill in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* October 29, 1921.

Spillville, little Bohemia in Iowa, by Freeman R. Conaway, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican,* October 30, 1921.

Sketch of the life of Eugene Schaffter, in the *Eagle Grove Times,* November 3, 1921.

Reminiscences of the grasshoppers, by Frank Davey, in the *Waterloo Courier,* November 4, 1921.

W. C. Brown, railroad executive in Iowa, in the *Oakland Acorn,* November 10, 1921.

Cedar County's first court house, in the *Tipton Advertiser,* November 11, 1921.

Sacagawea, "The Bird Woman" scout, by Elmo Scott Watson, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* November 12, 1921.

Story of the Iowa flag, in the *Charter Oak Times,* November 16, 1921.

Early days along the Cedar River, in the *Mt. Vernon Record,* November 16, 1921.

William Ewing, first farm agent in Iowa, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* November 17, 1921.

Sketch of the life of Lewis Miles in the *Corydon Democrat,* November 17, 1921.

Pioneer days in Estherville, by C. W. Jarvis, in the *Estherville Republican,* November 23, 1921.

The history of Iowa, in the *Muscatine Herald,* November 24, 1921.

Indians and whiskey, by Jas. N. Miller, in the *Sac City Sun,* November 24, 1921.

How old is Lenox?, in the *Lenox Time Table,* November 24, 1921.

Clarke County in the World War, in the *Osceola Tribune,* November 24, 1921.

How Cedar Falls missed the capital, in the *Cedar Falls Record,* November 26, 1921.

Atlantic fifty-two years old, in the *Atlantic News,* November 26, 1921.

Sketch of the life of William Vincent Lucas, in the *Waverly Democrat,* November 17, 1921.

A. L. Bixby, pioneer of Iowa, in the *Estherville Republican,* November 18, 1921.

Jefferson County incidents, by Hiram Heaton, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* November 18, 28, December 6, 1921.

Fayette County's territory, by Freeman R. Conaway, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican,* November 19, 1921, and the *Independence Journal,* December 1, 1921.

The Old Thompson Mill and cock fighting in Iowa, in the *Des Moines Register,* November 20, 1921.

The Green Tree Hotel in the Hall of Fame for Trees, in the *Muscatine Journal,* November 29, 1921, and the *Dubuque Herald,* November 30, 1921.

Early settlers of Page County, in the *Shenandoah Post,* November 30, 1921.

Sketch of the life of William A. McHenry, in the *Denison Review,* November 30, 1921, and the *Des Moines Capital,* December 4, 1921.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Elizabeth Dennis, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* November 30, 1921.

The pioneers and their homes, in the *Eldora Herald,* December 1, 1921.

The Danish settlement in western Iowa, in the *Audubon Republican,* December 1, 1921.

Early days at Dyersville, in the *Monticello Express,* December 1, 1921.

Madrid was once Swede Point, in the *Madrid News,* December 1, 1921.

J. L. McCreery wrote "There Is No Death" at Delhi, in the *Montezuma Republican,* December 1, 1921.

Early history of Benton County, in the *Vinton Eagle,* December 2, 9, 16, 23, 1921.

The Mormons at Winter Quarters and Kanesville, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* December 4, 11, 1921.

Charles G. Patten, the Burbank of Iowa, in the *Des Moines Capital,* December 4, 1921.

Early Pottawattamie County, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* December 4, 1921.

Iowa survivors of Andersonville, in the *Des Moines Capital,* December 4, 1921, the *Garner Democrat,* December 8, 1921, the *Anamosa Journal,* December 15, 1921, the *Maquoketa Examiner Record,* December 16, 1921, and the *Bellevue Leader,* December 22, 1921.

Christmas time in Boone County, in the *Madrid News,* December 9, 1921.

Early Iowa land grant, in the *Griswold American,* December 8, 1921.

Sketch of the life of T. Mack Easton, in the *Sioux City Journal,* December 13, 1921.

First railway in Greene County, in the *Perry Tribune,* December 13, 1921.

Sketch of the life of John B. Montgomery, in the *Madrid News,* December 15, 1921.

Sketch of the life of Alfred F. Brown, in the *Waterloo Courier,* December 19, 1921.

Robert Lucas and the beginning of Iowa, in the *Newton News,* December 21, 1921.

Sketch of the life of Herman Hue, in the *Waterloo Times,* December 21, 1921.

Early days in Greene County, by A. R. Mills, in the *Jefferson Bee,* December 21, 1921.

The return of the Musquakie Indians to Iowa, in the *Madrid News,* December 22, 1921.

Old school houses in Van Buren County, in the *Keosauqua Republican,* December 22, 1921.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the State of Iowa, in the *Newton News,* December 22, 1921, the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* December 22, 1921, the *Keokuk Gate City,* December 22, 24, 1921, the *Des Moines News,* December 27, 1921, the *Oskaloosa Herald,* December 28, 1921, the *Des Moines Capital,* December 28, 1921, the *Des Moines Register,* December 28, 1921, and the *Des Moines Plain Talk,* December 29, 1921.

Notes by the way, by Hiram Heaton, in the *Fairfield Ledger-Journal,* December 24, 1921.

Jacob St. Lawrence, early resident of Des Moines, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 26, 1921, and the *Osceola Sentinel*, December 29, 1921.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Emily Goan, in the *Dubuque Journal*, December 28, 1921.

Log cabin days in Iowa, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, December 28, 1921, and the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, December 28, 1921.

Old times in Emmet County, by George E. Delevan, in the *Estherville Vindicator-Republican*, December 28, 1921.

The Old Capitol is older than the State of Iowa, in the *Clinton Herald*, December 30, 1921.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

The Battle of Franklin, The Key to the Last Campaign in the West, by W. W. Gist, *Tennessee Department of Library, Archives and History,* by A. P. Foster, and *A Yankee Schoolmaster's Reminiscences of Tennessee,* by Marshall S. Snow, are the three papers in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for January, 1921.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for September, 1921, contains the following articles: *New Albany and the Scribner Family,* by Mary Scribner Collins Davis; *Miles Cary Eggleston,* by Blanch Goode Garber; and the second installment of *The Fugitive Slave Law in Indiana,* by Charles H. Money.

The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association for April, 1921, contains an article on *Sectionalism in Writing History,* by James Sullivan, and one on *The Origins of Prison Reform in New York State,* by Harry E. Barnes.

The Southwestern Historical Quarterly for October, 1921, contains the following articles and papers: *Conditions in Texas Affecting the Colonization Problem, 1795–1801,* by Mattie Austin Hatcher; the first installment of *The Bryan-Hayes Correspondence; Early Irrigation in Texas,* by Edwin P. Arneson; and the *Journal of Lewis Birdsall Harris, 1836–1842.*

Two of the articles in the September, 1921, number of *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* are *The Beginnings of the Public School System in Georgia,* by William H. Kilpatrick, and *Macon: An Historical Retrospect,* by Mary Lane.

The issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for July, 1921, contains a number of papers and poems on John Brown. *Old Brown,* by Wm. D. Howells, and *John Brown,* by Coates Kinney, are the poems. *John Brown,* by C. B. Galbreath,

The Execution of John Brown, by Murat Halstead, *John Brown at Harper's Ferry and Charlestown,* by S. K. Donovan, are the three articles in this number.

The Minnesota Historical Society has issued its twenty-first biennial report for the years 1919 and 1920 as an extra number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin.*

The Essex Guards, by Lawrence Waters Jenkins, *The Boston Revere Beach and Lynn Narrow Gauge Railroad,* by Francis B. C. Bradlee, and *Salem Vessels and Their Voyages,* by George Granville Putnam, are three articles in the October, 1921, issue of *The Historical Collections of the Essex Institute.*

A report of the sixty-eighth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin is published in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1920. In addition there is an account of an early legislative group under the title, *The Rump Council,* and a paper by Joseph Schafer on *Wisconsin's Farm Loan Law, 1849–1863.*

New Jersey in the Colonial Wars, by R. Wayne Parker, and *The Preakness Valley and Reminiscences of Washington's Headquarters in the Dey Mansion,* by Joseph Fulford Folsom, are two of the articles in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* for October, 1921.

The Last Phase of the Oregon Boundary, by Andrew Fish, is begun in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for September, 1921. In the documentary material is a second installment of *The Letters of the Rev. William M. Roberts, Third Superintendent of the Oregon Mission.*

Stevens' Diary, Some Valley Notes, contributed by Charles E. Kemper, and *Lists and Calendars of Source Material,* collected for the Virginia War History Commission, are three of the papers in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for October, 1921.

Charles Lee — Stormy Petrel of the Revolution, an address by Edward Robins, is one of the articles published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for January, 1921. The

two articles which make up the number for April, 1921, are the following: *Journal of Col. John May, of Boston, Relative to a Journey to the Ohio Country, 1789,* and a continuation of *Thomas Rodney,* by Simon Gratz.

The Adventure of Walker's Ranch, by B. E. Bengston, *A Small Historic Spot in Hamilton County,* by the same writer, and *Good Templars in Nebraska,* are among the contributions in the October-December, 1920, number of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days.* Announcement is made that the next number will appear in magazine form.

A second and concluding installment of Frederick W. Loetscher's *Presbyterianism in Colonial New England, Was John Knox a Royal Chaplain?,* by Louis F. Benson, and *The Journal of Rev. and Mrs. Lemuel Foster,* edited by Harry Thomas Stock, are the three contributions to the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* for September-December, 1921.

Captains Gray and Kendrick: The Barrell Letters, edited by F. W. Howay, *Naming Stampede Pass,* by W. B. Bonney, *The Oregon Laws of 1845,* by John T. Condon, *The Peace Portal,* by the Peace Portal Committee, an installment of the *Origin of Washington Geographic Names,* by Edmond S. Meany, and a continuation of *The Nisqually Journal,* edited by Victor J. Farrar, are contributions to *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for October, 1921.

Democracy in Canada, by George M. Wrong, *Some Reflections on Anonymous Iconoclasm,* by R. Hodder Williams, and *The Gold Colony of British Columbia,* by Walter N. Sage, are the three articles in *The Canadian Historical Review* for December, 1921. The second article is a discussion of such books as *The Mirrors of Downing Street, Mirrors of Washington,* and *Masques of Ottawa* as historical authority.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, In Re That Aggressive Slavocracy, by Chauncey S. Boucher, *The Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly,* by John D. Hicks, and *Rhodes's History of the United States,* by Lester Burrell

Shippee, are four papers in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June-September, 1921. Under the heading *Notes and Documents* there appears *Trudeau's Description of the Upper Missouri.*

The Evolution of American Penology as Illustrated by the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, by Harry Elmer Barnes, *Forefathers,* a poem by Edmund Blunden, *Some Aspects of Pittsburgh's Industrial Contribution to the World War,* by Frank R. Murdock, *The Lucases,* by Henry L. Patterson, *Reminiscences of Early Pittsburgh,* by Mrs. C. Simpson, and *George Croghan and the Struggle for the Ohio Valley, 1748–1758,* by Clarence R. Thayer, are contributions to the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for October, 1921.

Some Pastors and Pastorates During the Century of Presbyterianism in Illinois, by James Gore King McClure, *In St. Louis During the "Crisis",* by Cyrus B. Plattenburg, *Old-Time Campaigning and the Story of a Lincoln Campaign Song,* by William Hawley Smith, *Life Sketch of Samuel Seaney,* by Mildred Seaney, *My Retrospection of Four Score Years,* by Gaius Paddock, *Brief Record of the Mexican, Civil, Spanish Wars and the World's Great Conflict,* by Gaius Paddock, *A Mattoon Pioneer,* by Adolf Sumerlin, *Pike County Settled 1820; 100 Years Ago,* by Jesse M. Thompson, *Pioneer Log Church, Coles County, Illinois,* by Alfred B. Balch, *Mrs. Abbie Fay Newman, Early Methodism in Mount Carmel, Illinois,* by Theodore G. Risley, and *A Lost Stark County Town,* by William R. Sandham, are addresses and papers in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for April, 1920.

The December, 1921, number of *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains the following papers and articles: *Memories of Early Wisconsin and the Gold Mines,* by John B. Parkinson; *Documenting Local History,* by Joseph Schafer; and *Historic Spots in Wisconsin,* by W. A. Titus. The last named article is an account of *St. Nazianz, a Unique Religious Colony.* A brief paper entitled *A Treasure Quest* appeals to all history lovers who regret to see so much valuable material stored away for years only to be burned or

sold for waste paper. Under the head of *Documents* are some World War letters of Eldon J. Canright.

The first volume of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1918 contains the *Proceedings of the American Historical Association* for 1918 and in addition the following papers: *Vagaries of Historians,* by William Roscoe Thayer; *A Brief History of the Sheep Industry in the United States,* by L. G. Connor; *Dr. John Mitchell, Naturalist, Cartographer, and Historian,* by Lyman Carrier; *Historical Aspects of the Surplus Food Production of the United States, 1862–1902,* by William Trimble; *Early Days of the Albemarle Agricultural Society,* by Rodney H. True; *Minute Book of the Albemarle (Va.) Agricultural Society,* prepared by Rodney H. True; and a *Directory of the American Historical Association* for 1920. A supplemental volume contains the *Writings on American History,* 1918, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin. The second volume containing the *Autobiography of Martin Van Buren,* edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, appeared some time ago.

An extra number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for November, 1921, contains the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association* for 1919–1920. In addition to the reports of the Association the following papers and articles are included: *The Timber Culture Acts,* by William F. Raney; *An Historical Detective Story,* by Jacob P. Dunn; *Elijah Clarke's Foreign Intrigues and the "Trans-Oconee Republic",* by E. Merton Coulter; *The Undertow of Puritan Influence,* by Arthur L. Kohlmeier; *The Moravian Mission Settlement in Indiana,* by Arthur W. Brady; *The Use, the Abuse, and the Writing of Textbooks in American History,* by Wilmer C. Harris; *How the War Should Affect the Teaching of History,* by Herriot C. Palmer; *The Trials of a History Teacher,* by Charles Roll; *Perils of River Navigation in the Sixties,* by William C. Cochran; *Dr. Josiah Gregg, Historian of the Old Santa Fé Trail,* by William E. Connelley; *The Construction of the Miami and Erie Canal,* by Arthur H. Hirsch; *The Strategy of Concentration, as Used by the Confederate Forces in the Mississippi*

Valley in the Spring of 1862, by Alfred P. James; and the *Final Report of the Committee on Standardizing Library Work and Library Equipment for History in Secondary Schools.*

The double number of the *Michigan History Magazine* for July and October, 1921, contains a large number of papers and articles among which are the following: *Polygamy at Beaver Island,* by Milo M. Quaife; *A Daring Canadian Abolitionist,* by Fred Landon; *What the Glaciers Did for Michigan,* by Franklin S. Dewey; *Historic Spots Along Old Roads and New,* by Willard M. Bryant; *A Forgotten City* (Holland, Michigan), by Ralph Chester Meima; *Overland to Michigan in 1846,* by Sue I. Silliman; *Pioneer Days in Wexford County,* by Clarence Lewis Northrup; *Rail Growth of Michigan's Capital City,* by Glen K. Stimson; *Historical Sketch of the Muskegon Schools,* by Addie Littlefield; *The Story of Battle Creek's First Bank,* by Forest G. Sweet; *Early Days in Dearborn,* by Henry A. Haigh; and *Memories of Early Marquette,* by Mrs. Philo M. Everett.

ACTIVITIES

A meeting to organize a Jewish historical club was held at Des Moines on October 20, 1921. Young people between the ages of fifteen to twenty-one are eligible to membership.

A meeting of the Hawkeye Natives was held at Burlington on November 7, 1921. Eleven new members were added. At the meeting held on December 5, 1921, twenty-four new members were received.

An open meeting of the Historical Society of Marshall County was held at Marshalltown on December 12, 1921. An address by Aaron Palmer on "Historic Spots in Iowa", and one by Mrs. J. M. Whitaker on "The Little Brown Church" were part of the program.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at Iowa City, Iowa, on May 11, 12, and 13, 1922. Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of

The State Historical Society of Iowa, has been appointed chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee. The program is in charge of a committee of which Dr. George N. Fuller of the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan, is the chairman.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at St. Louis on December 27 to 30, 1921. The following officers of the Association were chosen for 1922: president, Charles H. Haskins; first vice president, Edward P. Cheyney; second vice president, Woodrow Wilson; secretary, John S. Bassett; treasurer, Charles Moore. Announcement was made that the meeting of the Association for 1922 would be in New Haven, Connecticut, and for 1923, in Columbus, Ohio.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

A second volume in the series *Iowa Chronicles of the World War* is ready for distribution by The State Historical Society of Iowa. This is *Welfare Work in Iowa,* by Marcus Lee Hansen, whose volume on *Welfare Campaigns in Iowa* appeared some time ago.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. Ben F. Butler, Sibley, Iowa; Mr. George Bennett Cullison, Harlan, Iowa; Mr. H. C. Meyer, Britt, Iowa; Mrs. C. H. Morse, Eagle Grove, Iowa; Mr. C. B. Clovis, Atlantic, Iowa; Mr. F. R. Conaway, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Henry Dall, Battle Creek, Iowa; Mr. John Jessup, Harlan, Iowa; Mr. S. C. Kerberg, Audubon, Iowa; Mr. L. Dee Mallonee, Audubon, Iowa; Mr. Leonard L. Ryan, Audubon, Iowa; Mr. Allan F. Saunders, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. W. S. Slagle, Alton, Iowa; Judge Truman S. Stevens, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Harriet H. Sweet, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. George A. Bieber, Ft. Atkinson, Iowa; Judge John W. Gwynne, Waterloo, Iowa; Mr. H. Moschel, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. George Schnucker, Aplington, Iowa; Dr. W. B. Small, Waterloo, Iowa; Mr. W. W. Wainwright, Connersville, Indiana; and Mr. Fred Wyman, Davenport, Iowa. Mr. Thomas Teakle of Spokane, Washington, has been enrolled as a life member.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The thirty-third annual reunion of the Eighteenth Iowa Volunteer Infantry was held at Chariton on October 11 and 12, 1921.

The thirty-sixth annual reunion of the Van Buren County Veteran Association was held at Keosauqua on October 6, 1921. Forty-five veterans were present representing regiments from several States in addition to Iowa organizations. J. A. Fowler was elected president; W. H. Harryman, vice president; and R. R. McBeth, secretary.

Shenandoah celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on October 12–14, 1921, by a parade, a golden wedding, and a pageant. Some six hundred persons took part in the pageant which represented the history and the spirit of Iowa and the vicinity.

The twenty-fourth annual convention of the League of Iowa Municipalities was held at Sioux City, August 16–18, 1921. The following officers were elected: Ingalls Swisher, Iowa City, president; Robert S. McNutt, Muscatine, vice president; and Frank G. Pierce, Marshalltown, secretary and treasurer.

The thirty-first annual meeting of the Iowa Library Association was held at Ames, on October 12, 13, and 14, 1921. The following officers were elected: W. F. Riley of Des Moines, president; Grace Shellenberger of Davenport, first vice president; Mrs. Edgar W. Stanton of Ames, second vice president; Mary E. McCoy of Indianola, secretary; Mae C. Anders of Des Moines, treasurer; and Annie Allen of Mason City, registrar.

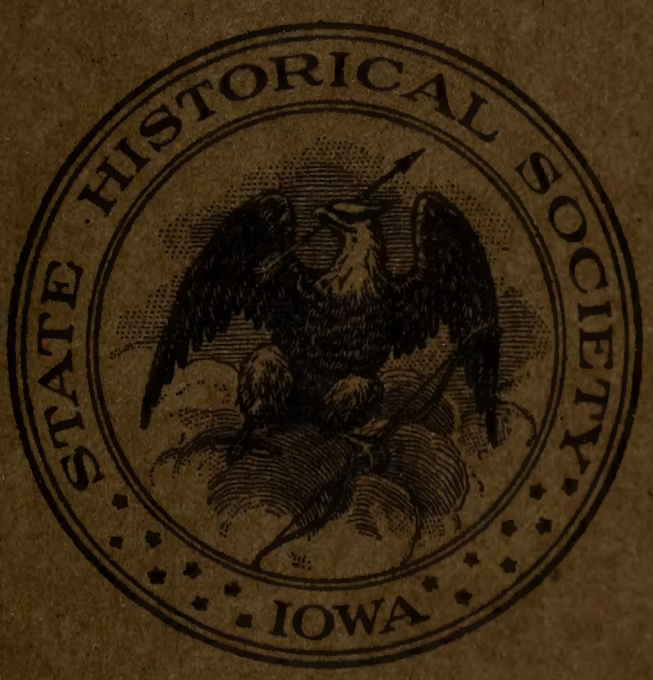
Eugene Schaffter was born at Lynchburg, Virginia, on September 3, 1864, moving to Eagle Grove, Iowa, in 1882. Here for some years he edited a newspaper, worked for the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, and later practiced law. In addition to filling a number of local offices, Mr. Schaffter was State Senator in Iowa from 1918 until his death on October 31, 1921.

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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS
APRIL NINETEEN HUNDRED TWENTY-TWO
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A TRIP ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1857

[This account of a trip to Salt Lake City and California was written by William Clark, originally in the form of notes made during the journey. Years later these notes were rewritten and the original scraps of paper were destroyed. The footnotes have been added by the editor, and occasional alterations have been made in capitalization and in the spelling of words and place names. The manuscript was secured and presented to the Society by Mrs. Louis Bernard Schmidt of Ames, Iowa. Mr. Clark died in February, 1920, in Ames, Iowa. He had been twice Mayor of that city.—THE EDITOR]

I started from Freeport, Ill., about the middle of June for St. Louis, Mo., not knowing where I would finally make a stop for any length of time, as I was undecided what I would do.

The first night in St. Louis, by chance, I fell in company with three young men: one from Peoria, Ill., by the name of Edwin Leach, a bright young man of about twenty-one years of age, and George Tuttle and Martin Sherwood from Oshkosh, Wis. These two were chums and had come down the Mississippi from the pinery on a raft and were very agreeable young men.

We started together to "take in" the city. In the morning we strolled along the levee and went aboard several boats—one soon to start up river to Leavenworth City.

It was suggested by some one that we all go up to Leavenworth on this boat, which was agreed to at once, and we gathered up our baggage, got aboard of her, and paid our fare to Leavenworth.

On this boat were bills posted stating that Majors, Russel & Waddel[1] wanted several hundred young men to drive ox

[1] The name of this firm is usually written Russell, Majors, and Waddell. Alexander Majors began freighting across the plains in 1848. It is said that he never drank nor swore and that he made his employees sign a contract not to drink, gamble, or swear. In 1855 he combined with another freighting firm

teams across the plains to Utah, and would pay $30 per month for the round trip or $40 and take our discharge at Salt Lake City.

We all concluded we would hire out to them and make the trip.

After landing in Leavenworth, we disposed of our luggage and started out to get what information we could in regard to the trip we were about to undertake.

We learned that the government was going to establish three military posts in Utah Territory and that Majors, Russel & Waddel[2] had a large contract to deliver their beef cattle and soldiers' supplies to these posts. That Col. Vanvliet[3] had gone on ahead with an escort of twenty men to hunt out and locate them and be ready to receive the soldiers and supplies when they arrived; and that Majors, Russel & Waddel's[4] contract would require twenty-six trains of twenty-six wagons each and require six yoke of cattle to each wagon. The cattle were nearly all wild steers, four and five years old and each team would be allowed only two yoke of gentle cattle. The men would have to load their own trains, would have to stand guard half of every other night, and do their own cooking; and it was rumored that we would be made to drive Sundays.

under the name Majors and Russell, but in 1858 the firm name became Russell, Majors, and Waddell. This was the largest of the freighting companies, using in the year 1858 some 3500 wagons, 40,000 oxen, and 1000 mules. Over 4000 men were employed. The business was extended to include passenger and express service and in 1860 at the suggestion of William H. Russell, one of the partners, the Pony Express was established.—Hartman's *The California and Oregon Trail,* a thesis in the possession of the library of the State University of Iowa; Visscher's *The Pony Express,* pp. 18, 20, 22; Coman's *Economic Beginnings of the Far West,* Vol. II, p. 355; Rhodes's *History of the United States, 1850–1877,* Vol. III, p. 237.

[2] See above, note 1.

[3] This was Captain Stewart Van Vliet.—*House Executive Documents,* 35th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. X, Doc. No. 71, p. 26.

[4] See above, note 1.

We concluded to go to one of the contractors, William Russel,[5] to make our bargain, and not trust to an agent.

We made our bargain with him and enrolled ourselves for the trip, with the express understanding that we should not be asked to drive Sundays, unless for the want of grass or water. We pledged ourselves together to stand by our bargain, and not to be run over by our train boss, as we had learned that they would undertake to force us when out on the plains, so as to make extra time and give them notoriety for making a quick trip.

We learned that most of the men, or teamsters, and all of the train bosses were southern men and most of them were hired in the south to come to Kansas to drive the free state people from the polls and carry the election in the interest of slavery. Most of the teamsters in our train had their expenses paid and were armed, and some paid as high as one hundred and sixty dollars in cash for this purpose. This was shortly after the Jim Lane[6] trouble in Kansas, so there was not the best of feeling between themselves and the "Yanks" as they called us.

It was, I think, about the 24th of June [1857] that we commenced our work of loading our wagons for the trip. Our loading was done at the Fort, a short distance out. We carried one hundred pound sacks of bacon, sugar, and rice and loaded up the wagons. When night came, we were a dirty greasy looking set of "tender feet" as we had handled one hundred pound sacks all day on the run for we worked as though every thing had to be done in one day.

In the morning we got up sore and lame from our work

[5] William H. Russell.—Visscher's *The Pony Express*, p. 29.

[6] James Henry Lane was president of the Topeka constitutional convention in 1855, was second in command of the free state forces in the so-called Wakarusa War, and was chosen United States Senator from Kansas in 1856 under the Topeka constitution, but his election was not recognized by the Senate.—Spring's *Kansas*, pp. 70, 92, 272.

the day before, as we had not been used to work for some time. But they sent us to the corral to help brand a lot of cattle. After the *buccaro* had roped the cattle we would have to help hold them to be branded with a hot iron used for that purpose. It was no easy job, as we were jerked about unmercifully which did not help to rest us much.

We ate our meals at the outfit house—bacon, saleratus bread, and stewed apples, all cooked by a man who, I do not think, ever cooked many meals before and did not care whether he ever cooked many more.

The next day was Sunday, and we were to start on our trip Monday.

We were a sick and sore set of fellows, but determined not to give up the trip before us, as we had an eye on California.

We passed the day as best we could, getting things ready to take with us. As we were not allowed to take our trunks, we concluded to take what clothing we needed in a grain sack. I sent my trunk with my best clothes to an uncle at Lawrence, Kan., to care for till I called for them, which I did ten years later.

We went to bed at the outfit house and Monday morning at three o'clock, they called two of us to get up and go to the Company's store to get our guns and blankets that the Company furnished and charged to us, as every man had to be armed with a rifle at least.

We all four got up but the boss said they needed only two of us. We told him we all went in that train or none of us went, as that was our bargain with Russel.[7] So when they found we were determined, they gave in.

Then we were taken in a wagon four miles out to Salt Creek, from which place we were to start. We got there at day break.

[7] See above, note 5.

Our cattle were soon driven into corral for us to yoke.

Our train crew of a wagon boss, by the name of Chatham Rennick—a big, six foot two inch man, an assistant wagon boss, twenty-six teamsters, and two extra hands, making thirty men in all. But we had ten extra men to help us get the train started.

We went into the corral with three lasso ropes to catch our cattle and fasten them to a wagon wheel to put their yokes on, as they were so wild it was the only way we could get them yoked. We would then chain this one to a wheel till we got another and so on till each team was yoked. Then to get them hitched to a wagon tongue was another big job, but at two o'clock in the afternoon we succeeded in getting them all hitched on and started to break corral, and a lively time we had. Now the fun began, not for the teamsters, but for the lookers on. It was life work for us to keep our wagons right side up. Twenty-six teams of nearly all wild cattle going in every direction —three hundred and twelve head of crazy steers pitching and bellowing and trying to get loose or get away from the wagon, and teamsters working for dear life to herd them and keep from upsetting or breaking their wagons; and every now and then a wagon upsetting, tongues breaking, and teams getting loose on the prairie.

It kept every extra man on the jump to keep the cattle moving in the right direction.

Fourteen men on horseback and twenty-six teamsters had a lively experience that afternoon and evening, and finally, at nine o'clock that night had succeeded in getting nine wagons two miles from starting point and getting the cattle loose from the wagons in a demoralized condition. Some of the teams had one or two steers loose from the yoke, and the others were dragging the yokes. Everything was in confusion.

The rest of the train was strung over the prairie—some wagons tipped over, some with broken wheels, and some with the tongues broken; and, in fact, were in rather bad condition for a journey of twelve hundred miles in a wilderness.

The men had had nothing to eat since four o'clock in the morning, and were all nearly played out; but we went to work to get some "grub", as we called it, to stay our stomachs. I could hardly wait for it to be cooked. I found a settler that lived close to where we were and asked him to bring me some milk and bread for which I gladly paid him, and we four chums made our supper of bread and milk.

We were ordered on guard the first part of the night. Chat Rennick, our wagon boss, stationed each man on guard. It fell my lot to go down the valley and keep the cattle from a piece of timber. Tuttle was stationed on the west to keep them from going over the hill, and was furnished a mule to ride, as his beat was considered to be the hardest. Ed Leach on the east near the wagon and Mart Sherwood on the north had little to do, as the cattle were determined to go to the timber or over the hill.

It kept me on the run as hard as I could to keep them from the timber, and Tuttle was worked equally hard to keep them in from the west.

About midnight Tuttle came over on the run as fast as his mule could go, met me, and turned back on the jump up the hill, and his saddle girth broke and let him off, saddle and all. His mule got away and ran off and he had to take it on foot. We both worked as hard as we could to keep the cattle until our relief came, which did not come till two o'clock in the morning. As the men did not go to bed till about eleven o'clock that night, the boss concluded he would divide the time with us.

When Rennick came with the men to relieve us, I had just reached the spot where Tuttle's saddle lay, and I was so exhausted and completely tired out, that I fell to the ground, and dropped to sleep in a moment. It was with difficulty that Rennick and Tuttle could awaken me and get me to the wagon to bed, as I would drop as soon as they let go of me. I would beg of them to let me sleep where I was, but they got me to camp, and I knew no more till seven or eight in the morning.

This was a fine morning, and Rennick had sent back to Leavenworth for more wagons, wheels, tongues, etc. to repair what was broken the day before, and also a lot of teamsters as over half of his men had skipped out, and left only eight or ten out of twenty-six teamsters.

Those of us who were on guard the night before were allowed to take it easy that day and rest up.

Rennick succeeded in getting more men and extra help, and gathered up the balance of the train and got it up to camp that night and ready for another start.

The next morning we commenced another day's work and succeeded in getting four miles that day and getting all the wagons into camp; although several wagons had been upset and some breakages. But we were prepared with several extra wagon tongues and some other repairs and a kit of tools to mend any ordinary breakage.

We pulled out the next morning and worked hard all day with the usual mishaps, and made five or six miles, and, in six days we reached Grasshopper,[8] forty miles from Leavenworth. There was not a day without some mishaps or breakages.

The next day was Sunday, and, I think, the Fourth of July.

After breakfast, we changed our clothes, cleaned up, and

[8] The Grasshopper River flows into the Kansas River from the north.

washed our clothes, and were lying around to rest ourselves as best we could, after our hard weeks work, as we were nearly worn out, when the boss concluded it was "time to hitch up" and make a short drive. We four Yanks told him the rest could drive if they wished but that we would not. We had done enough for one week.

The rest seemed willing to go, but, as we would not, he did not urge very hard.

That day I ate my first frogs' legs. "Old man" Clark from Cape Jerdo,[9] was in our mess. He was fond of fried frogs' legs and he caught and cooked some, and gave me some, but I can not say that I liked them very much; although they are considered a very choice dish by some people. But I had not much of an appetite then for any thing that was in reach, for the overwork and poor "grub" began to tell on me, as I was not used to the kind of food we had—bacon, saleratus bread, boiled rice, and dried apples. As none of us were cooks, we would take turns in cooking. Our bread would be black and solid, not fit to eat. I began to get so I could not eat half a meal.

We rested all that day and in the morning made another start and drove all day with but one or two upsets and a broken tongue or two.

We went on with the usual mishaps all of that week and camped Saturday night on the Big Blue, near where Crete, Neb., now stands.

We had fine weather all the week and we travelled over a beautiful country, mostly prairie with an occasional belt of timber along the streams, and now and then a claim shanty which was a welcome sight along these prairies.

The shanties were particularly welcome to me for I was starving with a train loaded with provisions, such as they were; but I had got so that the sight of this kind of food

[9] Possibly this is Cape Girardeau, Missouri.

was sickening to me. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could swallow any thing except a little coffee, and my chums would go a mile to get me a little milk, sweet or sour, as that was all we could find that I could relish. Anything we did not have I craved, but what we had to eat my stomach revolted at sight of, and I had become very weak, so much so that my chums would yoke my oxen and hitch them on for me, and each would favor me all he could by letting me ride and they keeping my cattle in the road. As Tuttle was ahead of me and Sherwood and Leach behind, on fair roads they could herd my cattle along, but it was so hard for them to run back and forth to look after my team that I would sit on the tongue and do all I could to keep them up. All this time I went on guard every other night for half of the night, as the boss was rather cranky; but my chums would not allow me to do any herding—only sit on my beat, and they would do the running for me.

There were two claim shanties near so that I got my supper of milk and also my breakfast Sunday morning, which strengthened me and gave me new life, and I felt quite well, only very weak.

My chums did the usual Sunday chores and we four went up the creek a short distance to see if we could not get a fish or two for me.

After a short time Rennick sent a man to call us to go and drive up the cattle and hitch up as he was going to make a drive the rest of the day. But we told him that they could drive as far as they liked, but we did not drive on a single rod, and that, if we thought he was going to ask us to drive every Sunday, we would unload our traps and stop right here, as this country suited us very well, and we didn't hire to drive Sundays nor be dogged about by any body. We were willing to do our duty but drive Sunday we would not and that we might as well settle that

question today for the rest of the trip, as we rather liked the looks of this place to stop. He gave us to understand that he would not ask us to drive on Sundays any more, unless actually compelled to for the want of grass or water, and this settled the question for the time.

But we heard occasional remarks from some of the men, stating what they would do with the "Yanks" when out on the plains but paid no attention to them, concluding to do our duty as men, and trust to luck, as trouble would come fast enough without borrowing any. We thought Chat Rennick had sense enough to know who of his men did their work the best; for nearly all of his Missourians were a low, shiftless, and quarrelsome set, always in a jangle among themselves, and kept him scolding them half of the time. We concluded the remarks of such men would have no weight with him. The assistant boss was little better than the rest.

The next day we drove all day without anything of interest happening, as by this time our cattle were fairly well broke in.

I missed the claim shanties, the last one being at Big Blue.

I had eaten nothing since morning, but I tried hard to eat down a little supper, but could force down very little.

Nothing exciting occurred for several days.

I could not gain my appetite and consequently grew weaker all the time. My chums had the most of my work to do. Although very hard for them, they did it cheerfully. There were two extra hands for the purpose of driving when needed, but their time was occupied, either in favoring some of their kind or feigning sickness.

I had told Rennick that I was not able to drive and he could not have helped knowing it, for I had fallen away thirty or forty pounds, and was a mere skeleton, just able

to crawl. Finally, Bill Eads, one of the extras came and drove my team part of the time for two or three days, and my chums would do the rest. They were willing to do all they could and the others were willing they should.

The day we reached Rock Creek, I was scarcely able to walk and had ridden all day.

That night the boys fixed me a bed on the ground near the camp fire. Then they got supper and begged me to eat a little, but the very sight of it made me sick and it seemed to me I would break in two in the middle.

Here Mr. Rennick began to show a little sympathy for me. He said I must eat something. I told him I couldn't. He said I would not live till morning if I did not eat something.

They handed me some bread and coffee. I took a swallow of coffee and a bite of bread, chewed it and tried to swallow it, but could not do it any more than I could swallow an ox team.

I craved cold water. We had bad water all the way.

They commenced to hunt through the train for something I could eat, and finally found some corn meal which a fellow by the name of Albert Frank had. He brought it to me and asked me if I could not eat a little gruel. They made some and I drank it. It tasted good to me. In ten minutes I felt better. It stopped the pain in the small of my back. They gave me a little several times during the night. In the morning I felt quite smart, only very weak. The boys made more gruel to take along in the wagon and I took a little quite often during the day.

That night we camped close to a spring of good cold water. I slid out of the wagon, cup in hand, and managed to get to the spring before Rennick saw me. He came running up, telling me to stop drinking or I would kill myself, but before he got to me I had swallowed two or three

cups of water. I never had water taste so good before, and I told him I would like to die feeling as good as that water made me feel. Rennick led me back to the wagon and they let me have a little water often, which, with my gruel, made me feel quite cheerful.

In the morning I was considerable better, and Rennick let me have his individual two-gallon keg which the boys filled with this cold spring water. Then they wet a blanket, wrapped the keg in it and put it in the wagon for me. It kept cool all day. I drank my porridge often and by night I had a little appetite for bread and coffee.

The next morning I felt better. My appetite began to come to me, and I could eat a fair allowance of bread and bacon.

The boys had improved in bread making and made quite good bread by this time.

In a day or two I got so I could drive my team and eat a square meal of such food as we had. In fact, I thought it good enough for anyone, as, by this time I had a wolfish appetite and could eat six times a day and relish my food.

Everything went nicely till we reached the sand hills, eight or nine miles from Fort Kearny. Here were about three thousand Sioux Indians, camped a short distance from the road.

The Sioux and Cheyennes were not on very good terms. The Sioux had gathered near the Fort and would send their warriors out from here to plunder and steal from the Cheyennes.

They were friendly to the whites while near the Fort, but forty or fifty of them came and met us and begged tobacco and anything they could get, bothering us considerably. They would try to get into our wagons—would climb in behind to steal what they could. We had to watch them, and pulled them out of the wagons often. They

followed us till near the Fort, where we camped for the night, then we made them leave.

Here I succeeded in buying some bottled pickles and a few beans of the soldiers. After getting them I went straight to camp and put on a kettle of beans to stew, and had a fine supper that night. I got enough for two or three messes, so I had a little change from bacon and bread, but anything tasted good now.

In the morning we started on and, after going five or six miles, we came across a few scattering buffalo.

Mr. Rennick and the mounted men—four in all—started after them, running them a while, but did not get any.

At noon we camped near a large herd. As soon as we had unyoked our cattle, Ed Leach took his gun and started out after one. He succeeded in getting near enough to one to get a shot. The buffalo was pawing and throwing the dirt in a buffalo wallow when he shot him. He fell but got up again. Leach loaded again and gave him another shot and run for camp very much excited and told what he had done. Three or four of our mess went back and found the buffalo badly wounded. They shot him two or three times before he fell. He was a large old bull and some distance in advance of the herd.

Several of the men now started out for more, but did not succeed in killing any.

We dressed this fellow and divided it up with the train crew. We had a fine feast of buffalo meat—the first taste of fresh meat we had had since we left Leavenworth. We all decided it was the best and sweetest meat we had ever eaten.

We had just got into the buffalo range. The grass was nearly knee high before we struck this range, but here it was quite well fed down.

That afternoon we saw several large herds some distance off along the sand hills.

The next morning was fine, and we were in sight of thousands of buffalo.

There was one large herd after another all along the sand hills as far as the eye could reach.

This range of sand hills extends along the south side of the Platte River, from one to four miles from the river.

Every now and then a big herd of buffalo, moving north, crossed the river, and we could see large herds across the river.

As the atmosphere is clear and dry here, we could see many miles. It was a beautiful sight. I had never dreamed there were as many buffalo in America as we saw that day. We were not out of sight of thousands of them half an hour at a time all day long. We killed several and were loaded down with buffalo meat, and we had some salted down for future use.

The next day was the same—drove after drove all day long. We thought best not to kill any more as we could not use them.

Every little while a big herd would start down toward the river to drink, two or three miles ahead or behind our train. They went on the run and would make the earth tremble several miles away.

That night we camped near the Platte River. The men on guard were cautioned to keep a good lookout and not let our cattle get near the buffalo, there being several large herds in sight but none nearer than half a mile. Rennick had planned our camp so as not to be too near for fear of losing some of our cattle among the buffalo. An extra guard was placed to herd the cattle.

About midnight the whole crew was aroused. There was a big herd of buffalo moving towards our cattle, going to

the river. We all got around our cattle and, while some drove the cattle out of the way, others went to turn the course of the buffalo and by shooting into the herd, we finally succeeded in changing their course and driving them around our cattle.

There had been several instances where parties, crossing the plains in the season of the great buffalo move, lost their cattle by the buffaloes' getting in contact with the cattle and stampeding them.

It seems that we were in the great move north, as trains a week ahead of us or two weeks behind us, saw very few buffalo.

The next morning we started on our journey and drove to Plum Creek and camped. We were still in the same buffalo range. We had a fine camp ground.

Nothing unusual occurred that night.

The next day was Sunday. We got our breakfast and did our washing. Then we ran some bullets, cleaned our guns, and put them in good condition for use.

Frank McCarthy, the assistant wagon boss, came riding up on his mule and ordered us to put up our traps and go and help drive the cattle up, and yoke up, for they were going to make a drive. We told him we would not. He then said, "You can consider yourselves discharged".

We told him he had better send some one around that had authority to discharge us. Then he rode off after the cattle.

Albert Frank now came over to where we were with his gun and clothes and said that if we were discharged, he would go with us.

It was evident that they intended to show us right here what they would do with the "Yanks when out on the plains" as we were seventy miles from the nearest settlement which was Fort Kearny.

An agent of the Company's, Mr. McCann, had come up and camped with us the night before.

Soon the cattle were driven into the corral. Mr. McCann was at the entrance of the corral guarding that gap while the men were yoking the cattle.

They all grabbed their yokes to yoke their cattle except us five.

As we were in the front mess of one wing of the corral, it brought us close to where McCann stood.

Chat Rennick came and ordered us to go and yoke our cattle.

We told him we would not yoke an ox that day.

He said we could consider ourselves discharged from the train.

We told him all right, that we would as soon have our pay and go back from here as to go the whole trip. He said that we could never get back, that the Indians would kill us.

We told him we would take our chances on that. Then he said he would not let us take our guns along. We plainly told him that we had them and before they got them from us, they would be liable to get the charge that was in them, and that they were loaded for buffalo too.

Mr. McCann spoke up and said that there were men enough to make us drive.

At this George Tuttle told him to repeat those words again and there would be one less Missourian, and drew his rifle. We all had our guns in our hands.

Rennick now spoke up and said "Hold on there, I don't want any of that kind of work".

Then we told him what brags had been made by his men; that now was a good time to settle it, as they had us out on the plains. There were men enough to massacre us but not enough in that train to make us drive a single rod, and

we meant just what we said. Then we told them that they might as well begin quickly and get the job off their hands as soon as possible, as they might have another that would need their immediate attention.

Rennick said he did not want any trouble with us, but wished we would drive, as the other men found no fault about driving Sundays.

We told him that he could go on as fast as he wished, as these Yanks wouldn't bother him. We would go our way and they could go theirs. That we were discharged and did not belong to his train any longer. Then we proceeded to pack up our things and put them in shape for our homeward trip.

Rennick now began to urge us to put our things back into the wagon and go along and they would make but a short drive.

We told him he had discharged us without a cause, and asked him if he had any men in his train that did their work any better than we had.

He said, "No not as well, only you will not drive Sundays".

We said we were glad to hear that, and that there was a law in regard to a train boss discharging a man over twenty-five miles from a settlement, and that the Company was responsible for the acts of a train boss. We had a more paying job than to drive a team for him any longer. As he had acknowledged that we had done our duty better than any other men he had, for we had hired to William Russel[10] with the understanding that we were not to drive Sundays.

Then he began to get real good natured, and, I think, a little uneasy; for, if five men left, there was no show to get anyone to drive our teams through. McCann was going on

[10] See above, note 5.

the next day to catch up with the train ahead. Even if the two bosses and the two extra men drove, it would leave one team without a driver and no one to look up camping grounds.

Rennick now began to argue the case with us for a compromise of this difficulty. We spent an hour or two before a settlement was reached. He made several propositions to us before we accepted. Finally he asked us if we would put our things back into the wagon and get in and ride to camp and McCann, himself, and the extra men would tie their mules behind the wagons and drive our teams that afternoon, and we should not be asked to drive again on Sunday unless actually necessary for want of grass or water.

We accepted this proposition.

As we had lost a couple of hours since the cattle were yoked, we could not get far.

We all got into our wagons and rode to camp, except Tuttle.

Soon after starting, I was taken quite sick with a violent chill. Tuttle went to Mr. Rennick to get some medicine for me, as the company had sent a chest of such medicines as thought necessary on such a trip, in care of the train boss. Tuttle took Rennick's whip, and he came to my wagon, found the condition I was in, and went and got me some quinine and such other medicine as he thought I needed.

Tuttle then told Rennick to get on his mule, and he would drive the rest of the day. Mr. Rennick did so and went ahead to hunt a camping place, and in a short time we camped.

Mr. Rennick showed considerable sympathy for me, coming often to my wagon to see how I was getting along, and began to take quite an interest in us. In fact, he was

naturally a good man, although he had listened a little too much to some of his worthless men. I think he began to see his mistake, and, from this time on, I would not wish a better boss. He worked hard for the interest of his Company and began to appreciate his best men.

In a short time he came into our mess and stayed with us all the way through.

Monday I was not able to drive and he furnished a man to drive for me.

We travelled all day in sight of large herds of buffalo.

In the afternoon we saw a very large herd, reaching more than a mile, coming directly towards us, and as we could not drive past before they came upon us, we doubled up our train in as small space as we could and as quickly as possible. We were none too soon for by the time the men got their guns out the leaders were within ten rods of our wagons and still coming. The men fired at them, killing nine in their tracks and wounding many more. Some of them still acted as though they would not be driven off, and Martin Sherwood ran to my wagon, put a cap on my gun, and, pointing to a big buffalo which stood defiantly not more than ten rods from my wagon, said, "Clark, shoot that big fellow."

As I had not shot a buffalo yet, I turned over, put my gun out of the wagon and fired. I did not even hit him. I was so sick I did not see my gun barrel—only the buffalo.

Albert Frank had his gun reloaded by this time and shot him just back of the fore leg. He bellowed, then turned and ran back into the herd. By this time the other men had reloaded and fired into them again. The wounded turned and ran back into the herd, parting them, and they charged by before and behind us.

We were here some time before they all passed. There were thousands in this herd.

After they had passed the men took their knives, and, cutting a strip along the back bone, cut out the tender loin of a few of those lying nearest us and left the rest, as we had more buffalo meat than we could use.

Nothing particular occurred during the rest of the day.

I began to get better and the next day drove part of the time.

We were still in the buffalo range, but they were not as plenty as before.

We camped that night about six miles from the crossing of the Platte, and drove in the next morning, camped, got an early dinner, and prepared for crossing.

We hitched on to about one-third of our wagons with fifteen yoke of cattle to each wagon, but started into the river with only three wagons.

Mr. Rennick had ridden across the river to see how the ford was, and found the river was full of holes, some a foot deep and others seven or eight feet deep. Unless we zig-zagged from one sand drift to another, it would be impossible to cross, as the whole bed of the river was a shifting bed of sand.

We had driven but a few rods before we stalled, with our wagons in four or five feet of water. We swung our cattle up and down several times and tried to make a start, but it was of no use, as the sand began to settle around our wagon wheels. So we sent out and got six yoke of cattle more for each wagon. By the time we got them hitched on for another pull, the sand had drifted around our wagons till they were hub deep in the sand, and the cattle were knee deep. The men would have been in the same fix had they not kept stepping around.

We swung our cattle and made a pull but we were fast and could not move. We had to get our shovels and shovel around the wheels and oxen. Then we took another pull

and this time got the wagons on the move, but only for a short distance, when we stalled again. It was such hard pulling, the cattle could go but a little way at a time. Every stop the sand would gather as before, and it was almost impossible to get another start. Occasionally a chain would break and we would have to get another or repair it with a link made on purpose. It was impossible to get more than eight or ten rods in an hour. Some of our cattle began to get discouraged which made it still worse. The river is about eighty rods wide at this point.

We finally succeeded in getting three wagons across and our cattle back to the balance of the train by nine o'clock that night. You can guess we were a tired and wet lot of teamsters, after being in the water ten hours, part of the time waist deep.

After changing our clothes and having our supper we were glad to go to bed, except those who had to stand guard.

We left three men on the other side of the river and Rennick sent three more over on mules to stay with them.

In the morning we drove all our cattle into the corral and yoked three teams of eighteen yoke each, of the oldest and best cattle and started across.

As we had zigzagged across the river for several rods up and down in crossing the day before, we had learned the best route.

We got across with these wagons without much difficulty. In the course of the day we got the balance of the train across and made a short drive and camped.

We had not been molested by Indians so far. We had met parties of twenty or thirty at different times, but had been cautious. When they came riding near us, we would double up our train and prepare for them, and they would soon ride away apparently friendly.

This day, after crossing the Platte, we met an Indian trader with quite a train, loaded with buffalo hides that he had bought of the Indians and was taking to Leavenworth to sell.

He told us that the Indians had attacked the train which was two days ahead of us at Ash Hollow, our next camping place.

Having had no trouble with the Indians, the boss had become careless and had allowed his train to string along, the wagons being some distance apart.

At Ash Hollow there is a steep hill, and, as the head teams were going down this hill, the Indians ran in and cut off the three hind wagons from the rest of the train and stampeded the cattle, upsetting two of the wagons. They killed the two teamsters and plundered the wagons. The third teamster got his gun and jumped behind his wagon, and succeeded in keeping the Indians off till the front teamsters came up and drove them away, wounding several.

This made us a little nervous and still more careful.

In the morning we drove to the top of the hill and closed our train up as close together as we could, and while going down the hill at Ash Hollow, kept a good guard out, for we could take only two or three wagons down at a time. It was a very bad hill to get down with such heavy wagons, and took us some time to get our train down, but we finally got down all right, and camped near the North Platte.

Here William McCarthy, a brother of Frank McCarthy, our assistant boss, met us.

He had been sent out by Majors, Russel & Waddel[11] in charge of a herd of eight hundred beef cattle to drive them to Salt Lake. He had eight men, and a team and wagon to haul their supplies.

11 See above, note 1.

At Plum Creek, where we had our mutiny a week before, while they were getting their dinner a party of Indians, apparently friendly, came into camp, stayed a short time, and went away. Soon after they left, McCarthy, fearing some mischief, got on his mule and started to go out around his cattle. Another party of Indians came charging towards his cattle. McCarthy put spurs to his mule but they got between him and the cattle and stampeded them.

As soon as McCarthy had got a little way off the other Indians fired into camp, wounding two of the men. They returned the fire, wounding several Indians, then ran towards the herd to meet McCarthy who, by this time, was making toward camp as fast as his mule could run, with several Indians in hot pursuit, one quite close. As he came to a little slough, his mule stopped. The Indian fired and shot his collar off on one side. He then wheeled in his saddle and shot the Indian, and got his mule started again.

As the other men were coming to his rescue, the other Indians turned and started toward the cattle, and the men went back to the wagon.

The two men at camp were only slightly wounded, one through the leg and the other in the side.

They dressed the wounds and concluded to stay here over night, as their cattle were gone. About sundown they were made glad by the arrival of one of the Company's trains.

Majors and Russel[12] by this time had their twenty-six trains on the road only a day or two apart.

In the morning McCarthy put his outfit in charge of this train, then got on his mule and started on ahead, going from one train to another till he reached ours where his brother was, and stayed with us till we reached Fort Laramie.

[12] See above, note 1.

These two Indian scares made us more cautious. We kept good guard around our wagons at night. We were now in the worst Indian country on the route, and we kept close together.

The next day was Sunday and we did our usual chores, but were not asked to drive.

Monday morning we moved on. In the afternoon we saw quite a large party of Indians riding toward us. The boss stopped the head team and commenced to corral. The extra men came charging back, ordering us to corral as quickly as possible, for the Indians were coming upon us.

Every man hurried his team up, and we got them corralled with the cattle inside. Then every man got his gun, and got inside the corral, ready for them, except Rennick and the mounted men.

But before the Indians got to us they began to slow up. They came up and appeared friendly. Whether it was because we were so well prepared for them or not, we never knew. They chatted awhile with the boss and rode off.

We strung out our teams and moved on for the rest of the day without further trouble.

About noon the next day we came in sight of Chimney Rock. It looked but a short distance from the road, but we travelled the rest of that day and till noon the next, and camped right opposite of it.

As soon as we had our dinner, three or four of the boys took their guns and started out, saying they were going to climb Chimney Rock, as we were going to rest here an hour or two.

They started out and travelled till the middle of the afternoon before reaching the rock. It being so late, they did not climb the rock but made tracks for camp, fearing the boss would be after them. It was just dark when they reached camp, so we had to stay here till morning.

We heard afterward that it was seven miles out to Chimney Rock from where we camped, but it did not look to be over a mile. The atmosphere here being so dry and clear that it made objects in the distance look very much nearer than they were, and travellers were often badly deceived.

This country was quite different from that we had passed over. From Leavenworth across to where we struck the Platte River near Fort Kearny, it was a fine, beautiful country mostly prairie, with an occasional belt of timber along the streams. But up the South Platte it was comparatively a level, grassy plain from the river back to the sand hills, with no timber, and here we had to substitute buffalo chips for fuel. After reaching Ash Hollow we began to get some scrubby wood.

The whole appearance of the country had changed. It began to be more wavy and rocky, and occasionally there were some scrub cedars, scattered among the rocky hills. The tops of the waves were covered with rock in all the shapes the imagination of man can picture.

After leaving our camp near Chimney Rock, we travelled in the midst of this grand and beautiful scenery a few days, undisturbed by Indians, much to our relief. We now came to Fort Laramie.

The country along the North Platte was nearly the same all the way, although it changed a little as we neared the Laramie range of mountains. There were more of the scrub cedars on the rocky bluffs.

The Laramie Mountains were quite bald, there being little timber except in the canyons.

From Laramie we moved on up the river without any excitement, and, arriving at Horse Shoe Creek, camped close to the Laramie Mountains at Horse Shoe Bend. Here the creek runs in the shape of a horse shoe, and we camped at the mouth of the bend, turning our cattle down in the

bend—a nice place to herd. At the lower end of the bend was some timber.

George Washington, Tuttle, Sherwood, and myself were on guard the first part of the night.

After Rennick had come out, as was his custom, to see if every man was on duty before he went to bed, and had gone back, we told Tuttle and Sherwood to go to camp and to bed, as they were not feeling well. As we had so far had no use for our guns while on guard, we sent them to camp by the boys. We were not allowed to fire a gun at night unless at Indians.

After the boys had been gone a short time, George Washington fell asleep. He was on the side next the timber. The cattle started into the timber and I ran around to head them off and wake him up. We drove back what we could find, and as we were standing by George's camp fire, we heard more tramping around in the timber. I went into the timber for them while George watched those we had. It was very dark in there. Just as I reached the cattle a pack of wolves set up an unearthly yell close behind me. The cattle jumped and ran as fast as they could, and I was as close behind them as I could keep. The wolves ran after us, yelping at every jump. The cattle ran into the bed of the creek, it being dry, and up toward our camp, leaving the creek opposite my camp fire and running into the herd. I stopped at my fire badly scared. The wolves stopped within a rod or two of the fire, keeping up their howling.

I stuck close to my fire, occasionally throwing a fire brand at them, as they came near, when they would run off a few rods only to return again. I kept them off in this way till our relief came. They were the big gray timber wolves, and there were ten or fifteen in this pack. While standing by my fire, I wished I had my gun. I should have

fired it, even though I disobeyed orders in doing so. After this I kept my gun when on guard.

We had not got out of sight of camp in the morning before ten or fifteen of these ravenous beasts came into our camp ground to pick up our crumbs.

We moved on for several days around the Laramie Mountains to where Fort Fetterman[13] now stands, with but little change in the scenery. Occasionally we met an Indian trader with his train of furs and buffalo hides going toward the States.

Our course took us through near where Fort Casper[14] now is. Here the country is different. Occasionally a strip of sand, then some sage brush and alkali spots.

We left the river here for Pacific Springs.[15] The boss told every mess to fill their water kegs before leaving the river, as we would have a dry camp before reaching the Springs. Our mess and some of the others obeyed, but there were two messes who were always short. Each man was afraid he would do more than the others. They did not get any water. We told them that we wouldn't go dry to furnish them water and that they had better fill their kegs, but they did not.

Before we had gone far they were begging water. We gave them water to drink all day, but when night came and supper to get, the whole train was short of water, and only those who had filled their kegs had any for cooking. When these poor fellows came for water to cook with, they were

[13] Fort Fetterman was established in 1867 at the point where La Prele Creek empties into the North Platte.

[14] This fort was located near the site of the present town of Casper, Wyoming. C. G. Coutant says the spelling should be Caspar and that it was named in honor of Lieutenant Caspar Collins who was killed by the Indians in 1865. —Coutant's *The History of Wyoming*, pp. 477, 478.

[15] This is apparently an error. Pacific Springs was on the other side of South Pass beyond the Sweetwater River. The writer may mean Willow Springs.

refused. But they would not take "no" for an answer, and came in a body and were going to get it by force, when the muzzles of several rifles were levelled at them. They went away, after receiving some good advice from Rennick.

They went back to their messes, and to bed hungry, but wiser men. They were very thirsty before reaching Pacific Springs[16] the next day.

Here we had the worst thunder storm I ever saw. The wind blew a perfect gale and the rain came down in sheets. The first storm we had had on our trip. In the morning we had quite a job to find our cattle, as they had stampeded in the storm. This was in a sage brush country.

We travelled for some days through a rough hilly country to the Sweetwater River. Here we drove down a long hill into the bed of the river and travelled some distance down the river close to Independence Rock.

This rock was covered as high as men could climb with names of men who had crossed before us—some as early as 1848.

It was rough rocky travelling in the bed of the river and we were glad to strike a dry road again.

Not far from here we came to Soda Lake. This "lake" was a bed of soda or alkali, white as snow, four or five inches deep. We tested the quality of this soda in bread making and it took the place of saleratus very nicely.

Here was the largest sage brush that I ever saw—five or six feet tall. We saw our first elk here and tried to shoot him but failed. We had seen very little game except buffalo and a few antelope which were very shy.

We travelled up the Sweetwater some distance, and camped by the river one day, and, finding plenty of fish, we improvised a seine by taking a wagon cover and attaching an ox chain to it for a sinker. We seined the river

16 See above, note 15.

awhile, catching nearly a bushel of fish—mountain shiners —and had a grand feast.

We passed the Rattlesnake Hills and Sweetwater Mountains and crossed the Rockies at South Pass.

We drove on the west slope of the mountains till we reached Dry Sandy Creek. Here we had poor water and heavy, sandy roads, and our cattle were getting weak from the long journey. It was slow traveling down this stream, and we would have to double our teams to get through the sandy streaks.

We went from here on down Big Sandy Creek, and across to Green River near where Granger now is.

We had quite a hard time in crossing this stream.

Here we found a sort of trading post, and they had farmed a little. Rennick found some potatoes here and bought some. They were the first vegetables we had had since leaving Leavenworth, and it was a treat to us all.

Here we laid over, as we were in no hurry now. Colonel Vanvliet[17] had gone into Salt Lake City, and Brigham Young refused to allow the soldiers and their supply trains to enter the city. The Mormons had an armed force stationed along the road out, nearly to old Fort Bridger, one hundred miles from Salt Lake City, and they were building fortifications to keep the government trains out. There were twenty-five hundred armed Mormons stationed along this road.

Colonel Vanvliet[18] came back, and when he met the first train, ordered them to turn back to Ham's Fork and stop till further orders. He left part of his escort with them, exchanged part of his mules, and rode back to Fort Laramie as fast as he could, changing mules at each train and ordering each train to stop at Ham's Fork.

[17] See above, note 3.

[18] See above, note 3.

We were twenty-six miles from the Fork when he met us.

We rested here a while, then drove in and camped near the other trains. There were four trains ahead of us.

This was about the last of September.

There was a fine camping place with plenty of good water and fine grass for our cattle.

Other trains kept coming in every day or two.

After we had been here about a week, Oct. 4, I think it was, Lot Smith, a Mormon captain with two hundred mounted men came riding into camp, stopped awhile, then rode off toward Green River. About seven miles out, he met one of the Company's trains. He stopped them and ordered them to go back. The boss, seeing that they had the advantage of him, said that his cattle were nearly worn out, and that he would have to rest them before he could go far. Smith allowed them to camp and rest up, and then he and his men rode on. When he was out of sight they yoked up and came on to Ham's Fork.

Smith reached Green River just as another train had unyoked, and drew their guns and demanded their arms. The boss, seeing they had no show, surrendered. Smith's men set fire to their train.[19] The boss plead for their private property—clothing, bedding, guns—and the mess wagon with their provisions which they finally allowed them, but burned the twenty-five wagons of government goods before their eyes. Smith then ordered the men to take good care of the cattle till he came back after them.

He and his men went from here to the Sandy and came

[19] Various authorities differ as to the burning of these wagon trains. H. H. Bancroft gives three on Green River; Colonel E. B. Alexander, commander of the advance guard, and William A. Linn both give the number as one on the Big Sandy and two on Green River.—Linn's *The Story of the Mormons,* pp. 489, 490; Bancroft's *History of Utah,* pp. 515, 516; *House Executive Documents,* 35th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. X, Doc. No. 71, pp. 31, 63.

upon two trains close together, camped for dinner, the next day, and burned the wagons, allowing the men their private property and mess wagons and cattle to haul them back to the States. They drove the rest of the cattle back to Green River, where the others were, and left them there.

The boss of the Green River train, with his assistant, came to Ham's Fork the next day.

In a couple of days Rennick and four or five men from each train, with ten soldiers that Vanvliet[20] left, went to Green River, got these cattle, and drove them to Ham's Fork. Then we moved up the Fork two or three miles to shift camp as our herd was now so large and trains were still coming in. We stayed here a few days and moved again.

Rip Van Winkle, boss of one of the trains that was burned, was in charge of the cattle while moving this time. As they were driving the herd along about a half mile behind the wagons, Lot Smith came charging up, took all the men prisoners, and drove off the whole herd of thirteen hundred cattle. He turned the prisoners all loose that day except Rip Van Winkle. They kept him two days before turning him loose.

We now moved camp every day or two on account of grass.

In about two weeks Colonel Alexander[21] came up with one thousand soldiers, but with no orders.

The Mormons burned the grass ahead of us for several miles.

After the teams had all arrived, Colonel Alexander concluded, as the Mormons had Echo Canyon route so well fortified, he would have to take the Soda Springs route,

[20] See above, note 3.

[21] Colonel E. B. Alexander was in command of the advance guard of United States soldiers.

down Bear River and in by the northern settlements. So he ordered us to move up to Soda Springs, eighty miles north.

The Mormons had, before this, captured four teamsters and escorted them into Salt Lake City.

While preparing to move, and after tying up my bed which had been under some willows, I stepped back for my gun which had been under the bed. I took hold of the muzzle, and, as I raised it, the hammer caught on a twig and I got the charge all in my hand which made an ugly wound, disabling me for driving.

We moved on, and in a few days reached Soda Springs.

It was now quite cold, and we had some snow before reaching the Springs. In a day or two after eight or ten inches of snow fell and it was very cold weather.

After we had been there about a week an express messenger from Colonel Albert Sydney Johnston came riding into camp with orders for us to move back to the crossing on Ham's Fork, and stay there till he arrived.

We started back. It was very cold and our cattle were weak. We could make but eight or ten miles a day. We left some of our poorest cattle at each camp, they not being able to travel. We arrived at the crossing in eight days. Two days afterwards Colonel Johnston came in with his men.

Some of them rode out to old Fort Bridger, and, after looking it over, came back and ordered us to move on to Bridger, and they would go into winter quarters there.

By this time several mountaineers had fallen in with us and travelled in our company for protection, as the Mormons had killed one or two already.

These mountaineers all had squaws for wives, some of them quite nice looking. The men had some of the finest buckskin suits I ever saw, made by their squaws. The

seams were welted and fringed and the coats were trimmed with otter fur around the collars and cuffs, down the front, and around the bottom. Across the shoulders and on the sleeves were patterns wrought in beads of various colors. The pants and vests were also trimmed with beads in fine taste.

A company of Dragoons came up to camp before we started. This made about two thousand five hundred men —soldiers and teamsters.

It was a bitter cold day that we started. The train was six miles long. The last of the train did not leave camp till noon, and it was dark when they got into camp that night.

It was a very cold night and the herders could not stay with the cattle. In the morning we found we had lost one hundred and sixty head which had strayed off in the storm, and sixty head of government mules had died in camp. This weakened our teams so that we could move only a part of our train at a time, many of the cattle left being too weak to work. We were six days getting this train twenty-six miles to Ford Bridger.

Here Charley Morehead, Major & Russel's[22] pay master, came in to pay off the teamsters that wanted to stop here.

Many of them took their pay and volunteered to go into the army. Others went back to the States, being fitted out with teams by the Company.

It was two weeks before our loads had been turned over to the government officers.

Then my comrades and myself took our pay.

Sherwood, Leach, and myself had decided to try to go through Salt Lake City and on to California.

George Tuttle had found a brother here among the Dragoons that had run away from home and enlisted. He was

[22] See above, note 1.

under age, and George said he would stop here and try to get him out.

A PRISONER BY THE MORMONS

Utah was under martial law. The troops had captured four Mormon prisoners, among them "Dock" Hickman, a brother of "Bill" Hickman's.[23]

The Mormons had plotted to kill Hurt,[24] an Indian agent that was stationed near Spanish Fork, south of Salt Lake. He had taken to the mountains and came to the soldiers' camp for protection. He brought the news of the Mountain Meadows Massacre[25] and the Parish[26] murder, also that the Mormons had the Aikin[27] brothers and comrades in prison.

Chat Rennick had long before this got to be a warm friend of ours. He tried to persuade me to go back to Leavenworth with him and said he would guarantee me a train in the spring at one hundred dollars a month if I would go. But I was determined to try to get to California.

Colonel Johnston had forbidden any one going into Salt Lake City, and had his pickets out five miles.

23 Bill Hickman, one of the leaders of the radical group of Mormons, had been implicated in the murder of the Aikin party of six men in the spring of 1857.—Linn's *The Story of the Mormons,* p. 450.

24 Garland Hurt. For his reports on the troubles with the Indians and Mormons see *House Executive Documents,* 35th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. X, Doc. No. 71.

25 The Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred in September, 1857, in the southwestern part of Utah. Over one hundred and twenty emigrants, who had been persuaded by the Mormons to leave their camp where they were defending themselves with difficulty from the Indians, were killed by the Mormons who had promised to save them from their Indian enemies. Seventeen small children were kept until their release was demanded by the government. —Linn's *The Story of the Mormons,* pp. 517-534.

26 This was probably William R. Parrish, a Mormon who, it was believed, had become dissatisfied with the administration of Brigham Young. He and one of his sons were assassinated by the Mormons.—Linn's *The Story of the Mormons,* pp. 448-450.

27 This was the incident referred to above in note 23.—Linn's *The Story of the Mormons,* p. 450.

The Mormons had twenty-five hundred soldiers stationed between here and the City. There was no other way of going except through the Mormon camps.

We each bought an Indian pony. Leach and Sherwood got saddles also, but I could not get one, so I had to use my blankets for a saddle and had rope stirrups.

We went to Colonel Johnston for a pass to go through their lines, but he refused us, and also forbid our going. We asked him what we should do. He told us we could either volunteer or go back to the States. He would give us fifteen days' rations to take us to Laramie where we could get another supply.

This was about the middle of November and very cold weather.

We were not the kind of boys that turned back. We did not care to be soldiers and winter here on quarter rations as it was evident they would have to do. Seventy-five wagon loads of provisions had been burned, we had lost twenty-five hundred head of cattle by the Indians and Mormons and those that strayed off. Colonel Johnston had sent Colonel Marcy across the country to Mexico with pack mules for supplies.

We concluded to take the fifteen days' rations and make sure of that, and then try for California. As Rennick had crossed to California the year before, we concluded to make a confidant of him, tell him our plans, and ask his advice. He tried to discourage us, saying the Mormons would never let us go through. If they did not kill us themselves they would put the Indians on us.

But as he could not discourage us, he gave us what information he could as to how we could get around the pickets, and helped us to some provisions on the sly. Then we started, as was supposed, for the States.

We went fifteen miles toward the States, then struck

across the bench to a stream called the Muddy,[28] and got down the bluff just at night. It was a very cold night, but we found wood and very good grass on the hill sides, and hobbled our horses for the night.

Then we made some coffee and thawed out our frozen bread and ate supper.

The next day we travelled down the stream, keeping close under the bluff, till night, and camped close to thirty head of our cattle that had run off the night we left Ham's Fork. Here we felt easy.

We built a good fire, mixed some bread in the top of the sack, and baked it in the ashes, as our cooking utensils consisted only of a coffee pot and three tincups.

After supper we concluded we could make a little stake by driving these cattle back to the soldiers' camp. The soldiers were so short of food that we thought we would be well paid for them. So the next morning we mounted our ponies and drove the cattle to camp and turned them over to Rennick. He said that we should get good pay for that work. Rennick delivered the cattle to the quartermaster who said he would settle with us the next day.

He came with several wagon bosses the next day to decide on a fair price to pay us. Most of the men thought that two dollars a day would be enough, but Rennick told them that we ought to have big pay, no wages about it; that we had taken big chances, lost three days in the dead of winter and our provisions; and these cattle were fifteen hundred dollars clear to the government, and the soldiers needed them badly, but the cheap men prevailed. They concluded to pay us fifteen dollars apiece. Mr. Rennick was so provoked at this that he gave us more provisions and got a pass for us to go and hunt more cattle. He went

[28] Probably Muddy Creek, a stream a short distance north of the camp at Fort Bridger.

with us out past the pickets and got us into our camp that night, then went back to the fort.

We travelled all next day and reached the crossing of the Bridger road, thirteen miles from Bridger, just at dark. Here we camped.

Soon it began to snow. We stuck up some sticks and stretched a wagon cover which we had brought with us, to shield us from the storm.

After supper Captain Maxwell, a Mormon officer, with twenty-eight men came riding up, and ordered us to saddle up and go with them, and be quick about it too. We had footed it all day through a foot of snow to save our ponies, and were very tired. We asked permission to stay where we were till morning. He said he didn't want any back talk. So we packed our ponies, mounted, and rode six miles as fast as our ponies could go, with about half of the men in front and the others behind us, to the Mormon camp where there were two or three hundred more men.

They took our ponies for the night and in the morning sent us with an escort of five men to Bear River. Here Leach and Sherwood traded horses with the Mormons and gave their guns to boot, as guns were of no use to us now. They got good strong ponies.

Here they amused us for some time by asking questions. We answered them as we thought best. Finally, when bed time came, they sang some of their Mormon songs and had prayer. But such a prayer I never heard before. They prayed for the destruction of Johnston's army and for the torture of all Gentiles—not excepting present company even. Although hard to listen to we stood it like majors, as we knew there was no other way, and kept as cheerful as we could. We joked with them and made ourselves quite at home, although, I confess, we were very badly scared.

Below is a sample of their songs—one verse only:

Squaw killer Harney's on the way,
Duda duda day,
The Mormon boys for to slay.
Duda duda day.
Come let us be on hand,
By Brigham Young to stand,
And if our enemies do appear,
We'll sweep them from the land.

Next morning they sent five men with us to their big camp at the entrance of Echo Canyon. There were nine hundred soldiers here. This is a very deep canyon. The road ran close to the rocks and wound along the stream. The Mormons had stone fortifications all along on top of the mountains. They could get behind these and shoot the soldiers as they passed through. It was a very strong position.

The Mormons were armed with every conceivable kind of guns from a toy pistol up.

They had prayer here also before retiring.

These were the poorest specimens of humanity that I had ever seen together, nearly all English, Danes, and Welch. And such clothing! It was impossible to tell what the original goods were.

Remnants of old bed quilts and blankets served as overcoats. They were a set of bigots—claimed that they could whip the whole world, and that Johnston's army would not be a breakfast spell for them, as they had the Lord on their side to help fight their battles.

We agreed with them in everything and were very anxious to find what settlement would be the best place for us to stop at and make our home.

Next morning they brought up our ponies and we prepared to start with an escort of seven men, Bill Hickman,[29] their "destroying angel", in charge.

[29] See above, note 23.

As we started he asked each of us our names. Sherwood and Leach gave their names first. He turned to me.

I said, "They call me Bill Clark."

"Well, I can recollect that, for my name is Bill Hickman", said he. "I suppose you have heard of me. You heard Dock Hurt[30] speak of me, didn't you"?

I said that I believed I had.

"I reckon he gives me a hard name."

"I didn't hear him say much of anything. Hurt stayed at the soldiers camp and I was with the freighters", said I.

"I'd like to get in reach of him with my old rifle, he wouldn't tell any more tales, and I'll get him yet", said Hickman.

Then he said to me, "Ain't you afraid of me"?

"No", said I, "why should I be afraid of you any more than anybody else."

"Haven't you heard I was a mighty bad man"?

I told him that I had heard lots of things I didn't believe.

"Why are you not afraid to go with me"? "Because", said I, "I never was anywhere yet, but that if I behaved myself I was treated like a gentleman, and for that reason expect to be with you, and among the Mormons. If we were very much afraid, we wouldn't have travelled three days to get around the pickets to get in here." I lied a little.

Hickman laughed and said, "Well I guess you will be."

Then I said, "Mr. Hickman, how will you trade horses?"

"I can't spare this one," said he, "I have rode him from Bridger to the City, one hundred and sixteen miles, in fourteen hours".

"He would just suit me, and you would look pretty well on my pony, and I would look lots better on yours."

[30] See above, note 24.

He laughed and said, "You'd look better on that 'ere little pack mule ahead".

I told him I thought he'd feel bad to have such a good looking prisoner on top of that little mule, and top of that load too. Then I never did like a pack saddle to ride on.

He said that he would take me into the City on it.

I said that it would look lots better if he would put me on that big mule he had loose.

"At the next stop you may get on him and ride to Weber Canyon. I'm going to leave him there."

In a few miles we came to a camp and I put my things on him and rode ten miles to Weber Canyon.

We had kept up a lively conversation and Hickman got quite jolly.

It was just noon when we got there, and he asked us into the cook-house to get dinner with him, saying we need not go hungry while with him, and told us to leave our provisions here, as we did not need any while we were with him.

After dinner I got on my pony, and Hickman said I could ride him a few miles, or till he gave out, then he would pack me on the little pack mule.

I said, "Not much. You don't know the kind of stuff that pony is made of. He's not one that will get his master on a pack saddle." We rode on to Little's camp. This was on top of the mountain, and their last camp before reaching the City. We got here just before dark. There were two of Brigham's sons here, Joseph and Brigham, Jr. These Mormons were a more surly and sarcastic set, full of stinging remarks to us. We kept as cheerful as we could and did not pretend to take their slurs, although hard to bear.

Here they sang several of their Mormon songs. They had board seats to seat the whole camp. They invited (?)

us to take seats near the middle with Mormons surrounding us. Then a tall, slim, hatchet faced man by the name of Little knelt in front of us and commenced to pray.

He prayed for a full hour, and asked the Lord to bring death and destruction to the United States officials, to Johnston's whole army and every sympathizer, and every Gentile living. He prayed that they should all be tortured in the most horrible manner.

I think it must have taken the whole combined talent of the heads of the Mormon Church to invent this prayer. It was a hard thing to listen to and keep our nerves quiet and hands off. But to *look crooked* would have been death to us, so we bore it with all the grace we could command. This was a long night to us, after this prayer.

There were about two hundred Mormons in this camp.

After breakfast in the morning we gave our wagon cover to the Mormons, as we had no more use for it, and started out. Hickman said I might ride my pony a ways, then he would put me on the pack mule. I told him my pony was all right.

We had a good deal of rough road, and going over the mountain, I would jump off and walk, and rest my pony, every chance I got.

Every little while Hickman would ask if my pony was give out.

I would tell him "No, nor he wasn't going to either".

Then he would start off on the jump for a while.

We travelled on till noon, when we came to a station and got dinner and fed our horses well. It being very cold, we rested a good hour, then started on. It began to get warmer, and in a few miles it was muddy. Every little hill that we went over, I would walk and rest my pony. As we turned out of Emigration Canyon there was quite a hill, and I was leading my pony.

Hickman called, "Is the pony give out"?

"No", said I.

We were now nine miles from the City.

"Well, come on then", said he, and we went on the jump as fast as my pony could run, clear to the City, without ever letting up for a moment.

I was eight or ten rods behind, doing my best to keep up, when we went down the bench into the suburbs of the City, and every Mormon woman and child was out to see Hickman and his prisoners.

They could tell a Gentile as far as they could see him by their hair and dress. The Mormons all had long hair. Every house we passed, they would rush out to see us. I didn't blame them much for looking at *me*. I think I would have made a good picture for a comic almanac. I was six feet and an inch and slim. My pony weighed about seven hundred pounds. With my blankets roped around him and rope stirrups, gun slung across my back, my sack of clothing in front of me, and a Scotch cap with a shiny visor on my head, I didn't wonder that they stared at me. But we kept on the jump and when the others reached Main Street they halted till I came up, then we rode down Main Street.

I rode up beside Hickman and said, "You look dry. Can't we get something to warm us up"? I had sized him up.

"No", said he, "they are not allowed to sell a drop in the Territory, but you might inquire at Kimbal's there".

"Hold on, I'll see". I got off and went in and said, "Give me a little good stuff—Valley tan if you have it."

They said, "We are not allowed to sell a drop in the Territory."

I laid a five dollar gold piece on the counter and told him to give me a quart in an old tin.

He took the gold piece, put it in the drawer, handed me

three dollars, took a two quart pail, went into the back room, then came back and gave it to me. I took it out and told Hickman, as we were namesakes, we would test it first, and, if it did not kill us, we would give the others some.

I drank and passed it to him. We concluded that it would not kill us and passed it around. There was a little left, so Hickman and I finished it. Then we went to Townsend's Hotel.

Hickman introduced us to the landlord as "three Gentile prisoners he had captured in the mountains", adding, "They are pretty good boys. Take good care of them, and I will be in in the morning."

I pursuaded Hickman to stop and take supper with us. He consented, and the rest of the escort went their way.

He got to be very sociable and said he had a "fool Gentile brother" and he would bring him in and introduce him to us, and that he would come tomorrow and take us up to Brigham's and get us a pass to travel where we wished in the Territory, as after a while we would join the Church.

We told him we liked it here very much and would try to enjoy ourselves the best we could.

He had begun, by this time, to think we were just about green enough for good Mormon converts, and we were willing that he should.

A great many came in to see the prisoners, among them Hyram Smith, Kimball,[31] and others at the head of the Church. They asked us all sorts of questions regarding Johnston's army. We were very ignorant, knew but little about it. We were ox teamsters; all we knew about them was that their supplies were short, and they would be on short rations. This pleased the Mormons, and they would say, "The Lord will take care of us and fight our battles",

[31] Probably Heber C. Kimball, a prominent Mormon leader.

and that Colonel Johnston's army could never come into Salt Lake City.

We agreed with them in every thing that seemed to please them.

Griff Williams, the mail carrier from San Bernadino, was also there that night.

In the evening before going to bed, the office being clear except Williams and us boys, Williams moved over to where we were sitting and said in a whisper, "Be very careful what you say in this house. *These walls have ears.* I know what I am talking about. The man who keeps this house is a villain, an one wrong statement from one of you might put you all out of the way."

He said that he had just come in from San Bernadino with the mail. He had hard work to get through, both from Indians and Mormons. A cousin of his, living at Redfield, had hard work to save his life while in her own house. Finally on account of his having the U. S. mail they concluded to let him pass and told his cousin that they would "fix" him on his return. But he had had another man to take the mail back and he was waiting here for Amasy Lyman,[32] one of the twelve apostles, from California, that he was acquainted with, and expected him here in a day or two, and he would go south with him for protection. He said Lyman did not approve of the Mountain Meadows Massacre or any of the murders that had been committed in Utah. He had charge of the San Bernadino Mormons, and, after the Mountain Meadows Massacre Brigham had ordered him and his flock home to Utah. He had just come into the southern settlements with one train and part of his wives, and was going to send a train from Johnson's Fork back to California for the rest of his family, and help others to come that were not able

[32] Amasa W. Lyman.

Williams was going to California with this train. A Mr. Savage was to take charge of the train. He was a good man, and Williams thought that, if we could reach his place, we might get him to intercede for us. Although, if the Mormons let us pass, the Indians would hardly let us, for the Mormons had them completely under their control, and a wink from a Mormon would settle us. The Mormons had missionaries among them to keep them stirred up all the time. These missionaries claimed that they had to promise the Indians more scalps when Williams came back in order to let him pass.

Williams also said that the Mormons had had the Aikins[33] brothers and comrades—six in all—in prison for two months on one charge or another, and had just sent them out the south route with an escort with Porter Rockwell in charge, and, if we ever heard of them again, we would probably hear that the Indians had killed them.

Porter Rockwell and Bill Hickman were the leading Danites, or "Destroying Angels", and with Porter Rockwell in charge was proof that they would never reach California.

I will state here the condition of the Mormon Church at that time.

Brigham Young and his officials had a death grasp on every man in the Church—or out of it in Utah. He made every Mormon consecrate all of his property to the Church, which was really a deed subject to the dictation of the Church. They could not take any property out of the Territory, except with Brigham's permission.

Brigham also had a revelation that every Mormon must confess all of his sins and crimes to the bishops and high priest of their settlement, and they did so.

He had a set of officers called Danites scattered through

[33] See above, note 23.

the Territory, for the purpose of putting any of their brethren out of the way when they became dissatisfied with the Church, also to take care of any Gentiles they could find. Hence the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the Aikins' murder, the Parish[34] murder, the Potter murder, and a hundred others.

There were many Mormons who did not sanction these butcheries, but dare not say a word against it for fear that their turn would come next, but they dare not disobey an order said to come from Brigham.

Brigham Young would preach inflammatory sermons, and almost order a murder by saying, "You must make a settlement" with such and such people "or I will turn the Indians loose upon them". The bishops and apostles would do the same. It was difficult for a man not in full sympathy with all of their doings to escape their vengeance. To disobey an order from Brigham was almost certain death, and, in the outer settlements, to disobey an order from a bishop was the same.

But to return to the Townsend Hotel.

About ten o'clock in the morning Bill Hickman came in with his "fool Gentile brother", introduced him to us and was quite jolly. As I found that "medicine" which we had the night before at Kimbal's did Hickman so much good I asked him if we hadn't better go and get another dose. He thought we had. So we went to Kimbal's store and said we would like to go into his back room. He opened the door, handed me a cup, and pointed to a barrel. We went in, drew some, and all drank a little. I paid the bill and then we went for a walk.

After awhile we went to Kimbal's again. Then Hickman said that he would take us up to Brigham's, introduce us to him, and see what he could do for us there.

34 See above, note 26.

We went to Brigham's office, and Hickman introduced us as "three Gentile prisoners," and said, "They are pretty good boys too, and are going to stay with us. They want a pass to travel around to find a good place to stop this winter".

Brigham gave us a pass and we chatted awhile, then went back to Kimbal's, as we had learned how to treat Hickman's case. Hickman then invited us to come out to his place and stay over night. He told us that, if we couldn't get anything to do to make a living for the winter, he would donate us a fat ox and twenty bushels of wheat and we could get through on that. Then he shook hands, bade us goodby and rode away.

FROM SALT LAKE TO CALIFORNIA

The next day a man by the name of Brown came in from the soldiers' camp with a fine horse.

I tried to trade a gold watch that I had for his horse, but, as he lived at Fillmore, one hundred and fifty miles south, he said that he couldn't trade, as he would have no way of getting home. I told him that we intended to go down that way in about a week, and, if I wanted the horse, I would call and see him. He said that I could have him then if I wanted him.

One day we got on our ponies and went out to Hickman's place, eight miles from the City, as we had agreed. He was not at home, but we stayed all night. We came back to the City the next morning.

We started south the next day, saying that we were going to Cottonwood, but we went on south. In the afternoon we fell in company with a young man by the name of Gid Finley from Salt Creek, one hundred and ten miles south of Salt Lake.

He had been out to the Mormon camp with some supplies for the soldiers.

We rode along in company with him for some time, and, as our luggage was burdensome, he said that we might put it in his wagon, which we did. I put my gun in also.

He was quite a nice young man. He wanted my rifle. I told him that I would like to trade my pony and rifle for a larger horse. He said that he had a good horse at home that would suit me.

That night we stayed at American Fork with the bishop.

In the morning we started on, intending to go home with Gid Finley and make a trade. We began to place a little confidence in him. When we got to Springville, he told us to stop at Bishop Redfield's for dinner, and he would go to an acquaintance's of his, and if he started before we did, we would find him at Payson at the bishop's that night.

We stopped at Bishop Redfield's, and they were very nice people. They got us a fine dinner, and we stayed two hours. We told them that we were going to Johnson's Fort to try to go through to California with Savage's train. The bishop said, "You better not try it. The Indians are very bad."

We said that we would be careful in going from one settlement to another, and that we were in company with Mr. Finley.

He said, "You can trust him. He is a good young man. But he can't keep you from the Indians. They are very bad. I know what I am talking about."

His wife tried to persuade us to stop with them for a while, for it would be impossible for us to get through.

But, as our baggage was with Finley, we thought that we would take our chances, and catch up with him.

The bishop said, "From the bottom of my heart I wish you no harm". Then, throwing his head back, "The In-

dians are mighty bad, and *not altogether the Indians''*. As he said this, the tears rolled down his cheeks.

But we saddled up, and he and his wife came out, and, with tears rolling down their cheeks, gave each of us a hearty shake of the hand, saying, "May the Lord bless you".

We started, badly scared inside if we did not show it outside, and rode on to overtake Finley.

As we had lost two hours, we rode to Spanish Fork without coming up with him. Here we inquired about him and learned that he was half an hour ahead. We pushed on out of town and across the creek, then about a mile to the top of a hill which sloped down to the bottom which we had to cross to go to Payson.

At the top of the hill we met a man coming with his horse on the lope. As he came up to us, he halted and said he had been watching for us all the afternoon, as Jack Brown had told him to be sure to tell us to go through from Spanish Fork in the night, or the Indians would kill us. I asked him who Brown was.

"Why, he is the man that was talking about trading his horse to you for a gold watch".

I said that I remembered him.

"He said that he rode through from Salt Lake to Fillmore in three days, and the Indians had heard that you were coming before he got home, and were on the lookout for you.

"You see that smoke there on the flat near Dock Hurt's[35] old place?"

"Yes".

"Well, fifteen or twenty Indians have just camped there. They described you three and inquired of me if I had seen

[35] See above, note 24.

you. I told them that I had not. They are on the look out for you".

We asked if he had met Finley.

He said that we could just see him. "He can travel anywhere. The Indians never trouble us Mormons. We all can talk their language and go where we please".

I said that Finley had our clothes and my gun.

"Let him go with them", said he, and you go back to Spanish Fork and stay a day or two, for it is impossible for you to pass that Indian camp".

I asked him if he would go back and get our things.

He said that he would for five dollars. I told him that I would give it.

He said that he would be back to the bishop's by eight o'clock that night, and for us to go there to stay.

We went back and stayed with the bishop that night, but our clothes and gun did not come.

When bed time came they had prayer, and all knelt down but me. When they arose, the bishop took me to task for it, but I told him that I had too much respect for their religion to make a mock of it; that I did not belong to any church, and did not wish to insult them on religious matters. He accepted my apology, but it left Sherwood and Leach in a fix, and he turned to them for an explanation of their actions.

But Sherwood was equal to the occasion, although a little embarrassed. He spoke right up and said that he and Leach were different from Clark as they were both brought up under religious influences and were used to kneeling with church people, and since they came to Utah the Mormons seemed near to them, and they deemed it a privilege to kneel with them in worship.

This explanation satisfied him.

The next day about ten o'clock the man came in with our

clothing but no gun. He said that his horse got scared and he dropped the gun and could not find it, and as he had lost the gun, he would not charge us anything for bringing the rest and seemed sorry that the gun was lost.

That day a Mormon claimed Mart Sherwood's horse that he had got in trade from a Mormon soldier, proved that it was his, and took it away.

Now that his horse was gone, Sherwood concluded that he would stay here and join the Church.

He had that day found a Mormon that came from near where he did in Wisconsin. Sherwood joined the Church, and, in the spring *got out.*

I bought his saddle, and in a couple of days, as the Indians had moved their camp about half a mile from the road, Leach and myself determined to go through if possible.

So we started just at dark and rode to Payson, twelve miles and put up with the bishop.

The next day we reached Salt Creek and stopped with the Finleys. The young man was sorry that I had lost my rifle.

They were clever people and seemed very much alarmed for our safety. That night the sister of the young man's, an old maid, made one of the most pathetic prayers that I ever listened to. She prayed especially for our safety on the trip, asking the Lord to protect us from the Indians or any harm that might come to us, and that we might reach our destination in safety.

Six days before this the Aikins brothers and comrades, who left Salt Lake City the day we arrived under an escort with Porter Rockwell in charge, had, four of them, been killed on the Sevier River, sixteen miles from here, and the other two were wounded and ran back here and went to the bishop's for protection. He kept them four days, then

there was an official meeting called, and orders given for them to be taken out to Willow Creek and killed. This creek we crossed four miles from here.

It was at this time reported to us as having been done by the Indians.

In the morning we rode out into the foot hills with Finley to find his pony. We drove him up and I traded with him, giving him twenty dollars to boot.

We got our dinner and it was two o'clock before we started. We learned that Amasa Lyman and Griff Williams, the mail carrier, had passed. We mounted our ponies and started to overtake them.

There was no settlement for thirty miles, and we rode hard, determined to overtake them before camping, which we did about dark on the Sevier River and camped close to where the Aikins boys were killed a week before.

The snow was a foot deep and it was a very cold night. We had no shelter but plenty of wood.

We moved our fire and when the ground got cool enough, we spread our blankets down on the warm place and went to bed and to sleep, but about midnight woke up nearly frozen. We got up shivering and moved our fire again, and soon had another warm bed. But before daylight we froze out again. After this we made our bed on the snow and slept more comfortable.

The next day we arrived at Johnson's Fort where Savage was getting ready to start for California.

Here we stopped, and Griff Williams went on with Lyman to Cedar City. Before going they spoke a good word to Savage for us.

There were two buildings here, and they were forted in with a high adobe wall for protection against Indians.

This was five miles south of Fillmore and fourteen south

of Corn Creek Reservation where there was quite a tribe of Indians.

Savage went to Fillmore to complete getting ready to start, and Leach and myself went with him. Here I met Jack Brown, the man who sent word for us to come through in the night. He told us that we would have to be very careful, as the Indians were very anxious about us. He said he would do all that he could for us, and thought Savage could keep them off.

When we got back to the Fort that night, there were a dozen or more Indians there. Mrs. Johnson told us they were planning to steal our horses and saddles. She had overheard their plans. They had picked out our horses and saddles and looked them over, and, unless we guarded them closely, they would have them.

She told Savage about it, and he called the Indians and told them that he had bought our horses and saddles. He gave them a big talk in their own language and they went off.

In the morning we made a bargain with Mr. Savage to take us through. We gave him our horses and saddles and twenty dollars apiece, besides driving and taking care of a four mule team, and he was to do the best that he could to get us through to San Bernadino—a good one hundred and twenty-five dollars apiece besides our work, for our grub and his influence.

We now started for California. There was another Gentile by the name of Dickey that had come in from California with Amasa Lyman with goods to sell in the Territory. He went with us.

Lyman had gone ahead to Santa Clara, the southern settlement, and made arrangements as he went along to have all the Indians on the route from Johnson's Fort to Santa Clara pacified to let us pass, and sent word for all

of the Indians to come into Santa Clara the day that we were there. He also sent for Ira Hatch, their best Indian interpreter.

We got to Fillmore the first day. Here a train joined us. Our train was made up of teams from each settlement along the road to Cedar City. When we arrived at Cedar City we were joined by Lyman and Griff Williams.

We took the Mountain Meadows route and camped by a spring, four miles from the Meadows. Next day we went over the ground of the Mountain Meadows Massacre,[36] the most brutal and barbarous massacre ever committed on the American continent—and this plotted and planned by Mormon officials. Bishop Higbee and President Haight of Cedar City, and John D. Lee[37] of Harmony were leaders of this massacre. There were one hundred and thirty-two emigrants killed, and they saved seventeen children. This was said to be the richest train that had ever crossed the plains.

The Mormons and Indians got $80,000, over three hundred head of stock, and the outfits from this massacre, the Indians getting but a small share. Joel White, one of the Mountain Meadows police, was with our train. We were the first train that ever passed over this ground after that wholesale murder, and we Gentiles were ordered to stay close to our wagons and not be looking around, as it would not be safe for us if we did. But I counted eighteen skeletons close to the road, mostly of women and children with the hair still on their skulls. It was enough to make a man's blood run cold, and to know that some of the perpetrators of that deed were in our train!

36 See above, note 25.

37 John D. Lee was the man who persuaded the emigrants at Mountain Meadows to leave their camp. He was later tried on the charge of murder and executed by shooting on the scene of the massacre in March, 1875.

It will be remembered by the readers of the trial of John D. Lee, a few years later, that Joel White, though not actively engaged in the killing of any, was on police duty, and reported the progress of the massacre to the settlements, it being nearly a week after they were attacked before they surrendered and the massacre took place.

That night we camped near Hamlin's ranch, just over the divide. It was quite cold here.

The next day we rolled down to the Santa Clara.[38] Here it was warm summer weather. We had come from cold winter, in one day, into a fine warm climate. We stayed here the next day, and the Indians came in from some distance around to meet the great apostle, Amasa Lyman and receive instructions from him.

He preached to them for some time and Ira Hatch, the interpreter, repeated his sermon to them. Lyman instructed them to let this train and us four Gentiles pass through their country unharmed, and requested the chief of this tribe to send a messenger from one tribe to another for our protection.

This chief sent an under chief to the next tribe on the Rio Virgin, and from there the chief sent a messenger to the Muddy,[39] where the big camp of the [Paiutes][40] was. Here the Mormons had two missionaries,[41] McConnel and Liston. This was the place where they had the Indians worked up to kill Griff Williams on his way down. But

[38] The Santa Clara River is in the southwestern corner of Utah and flows into the Virgin River.

[39] This is probably a small stream flowing into the Virgin River, west of the larger stream.

[40] This name has been supplied. There was a reservation of these Indians at this place.—Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians,* Vol. II, p. 187.

[41] For an account of the difficulties of the Indian agents with the Mormon missionaries, see *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1857, pp. 305-308. Brigham Young, at this time was Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah Territory by virtue of his position as Governor of the Territory.

after Dickey had gone through with Lyman's train, they thought best to let Williams pass and they would be sure of them both when they came back.

So they had hard work to get him through this time.

The under chief got in here half a day in advance of us and had the Indians quieted down before we arrived. They seemed quite friendly, although some of them acted rather surly.

After dinner, as I was seated on my wagon seat mending some clothing and Williams sitting beside me, McConnell, one of the missionaries, came up to the forward wheel of the wagon and began to tell Williams what hard work he had to keep the Indians from killing him when he went through before. After he had explained how hard he had worked to save his life, a big young buck stepped up to the wagon, climbed up, put his arm around Williams' neck, and said, "*Poshupe,* McConnel lies. McConnel say *Poshupe Americuts, cots wino* (bad) and to kill *Poshupe*". As he said this he stuck his finger into McConnel's face.

"*Poshupe* always give *Piute tobac* (tobacco) and *shotcup* (food). *Piute* like *Poshupe* but McConnel say *Poshupe* was *Americuts, c-o-ts w in o* Americuts, and to kill *Poshupe*".

McConnel did not know what to say, and did not say a word, but went away.

Poshupe was the name that the Indians gave Williams on account of his long heavy eyebrows.

Here we left the Muddy and went up a long ravine nine miles, out on the descent to the Vegas Springs about sixty miles.

About two weeks before, a large train from the States had passed through Utah, the first train after the Mountain Meadows Massacre. This was Crooks, Cooper, and Collins's train. They had been very careful not to arouse the Mormons, and had hired Ira Hatch and another inter-

preter, the two best in Utah, to guide them through and pacify the Indians. They piloted this train through by way of Old Harmony, instead of over the massacre ground.

While that train was moving up this ravine the Indians charged down on them and drove off all of their loose stock, about one hundred head. The men were going to protect themselves, and their property, and there were enough to have done so, there being sixty in the train, but the interpreters ordered them not to or they would all be killed; but let the Indians have their stock and not get into a fight with them, and they would go and get the stock back. They took their advice and Hatch and the other man went off after the cattle, but never returned. The Company paid the interpreters one hundred dollars apiece in advance, and now they had lost their stock in the bargain.

We went on to the Vegas Springs[42] without any trouble.

This desert is covered in many places with desert brush, and along the road was a great variety of cactus.

The bayonet cactus grows out of the ground like a mass of bayonets to the height of four feet. The cactus tree, which was plentiful, grows to be twenty feet high, and the trunks of some were a foot through. The top branches were covered with bayonet like leaves. The body was a mass of wiry fibers woven through and through, filled in with a light punky substance. When dead, a man could carry quite a large tree. These dead trees made a beautiful fire, and in the night, when crossing this desert, we would set fire to them as we went along, just to see them burn.

We were nearly two days and one night in crossing this desert to the Vegas. Here was a nice camping place.

We arrived at the Vegas Springs on January first, 1858.

[42] The springs mentioned here and on the following pages are difficult to locate. Vegas Springs was evidently in southern Nevada.

Three or four of us took a bath in this spring on New Year's Day. Although out of the bathing season, we enjoyed it very much.

There was quite a party of Indians here, but they appeared friendly.

Our next camping place was at Cottonwood Springs, a nice place to camp. There was some cottonwood timber here.

There is a little history connected with this camp.

Early in the fifties a man by the name of Pomroy crossed the plains to Utah with a train of merchandise, eight or ten loads. He went to Salt Lake City, sold his goods, and started across to California.

After he had got out on the desert, he found that his men were planning to steal his money, and he feared they would kill him to get it. So, when within a day's travel of Cottonwood Springs, Pomroy took a mule and some provisions, and started for San Bernardino, leaving his train and money in charge of his wagon boss. The night that he reached San Bernardino he dreamed that he saw his saddle bags, containing his money, move from his wagon into a bank about twenty rods from camp.

He got up wild with excitement over his dream, as he had over $10,000. He hunted up a man by the name of C. L. Kingston who had carried the mail across to Utah, told him of his trouble, and hired him to go back with him to hunt his money. They each packed a pack mule and started. It was two hundred and fifty miles to Cottonwood, where he dreamed that his money was.

They went out to the Mojave and met the train. His wagon boss told him that the money was stolen the night they camped at Cottonwood. Pomroy and Kingston pushed on. When they got to Mountain Spring,[43] twenty-five miles

[43] Mountain Spring is in southern Nevada southwest of Las Vegas.

from Cottonwood, they camped for the night. In the morning Pomroy said that he had had another dream. He saw his money move out of the bank where it was hid and out of sight. He was discouraged now and wanted to turn back, but Kingston would not now, and said they would go on to the place.

He had hard work to get Pomroy to go. Pomroy said it was useless, as the money was gone. But, as Kingston insisted, they rode on to the place, and Pomroy pointing to a bank, said, "It was right over there in the side of that bank, but it is not there now."

Kingston got off of his horse, went to the place, and found fresh dirt. He looked around and found a string. Then he called Pomroy, who said that it was the string which fastened his saddle bags. It was greasy, having been covered up with bacon in the mess wagon.

They went down the "wash", as they could see that the gravel had been disturbed. They followed the wash about twenty rods and came upon his money, all spilled out on the gravel, and picked up every dollar, $10,300.

The wolves had smelled the greasy saddle bag, dug it out, dragged it along by one corner, and spilled the money out in a pile.

I knew this man Kingston from '58 to '64, and have heard him tell this story several times, and believe it to be true.

Our next camp was at Mountain Spring. There were some Indians here, but we had no trouble with them.

All of the Indians, after leaving the Mormon settlements, are Piutes. They are not very strong. Scarcely any of these little tribes could muster over fifty warriors. They never had any horses. If they get one, they kill it for food. They are a sort of Digger Indian, living mostly on roots and lizards, and in the season when there is no travel they

get very poor. In the winter, when there is considerable travel, they fat up like pigs. Everyone that crosses expects to feed them and they seldom attack a train, but often pick off a man if they can catch him away from camp. They will hide in the brush and shoot down a horse or mule in a team, then they get it for food. They never have been known to attack much of a train, unless helped by the Mormons.

From here we went to Kingston Spring, forty-five miles. This spring was discovered by C. L. Kingston and Pomroy on their return, after finding Pomroy's money, who gave it this name.

Before that the route had been by the Resting Springs.

We left the Kingston Spring and crossed the next desert of forty-five miles to Bitter Springs. At these two desert springs the water is very poor, having a bitter taste, but travelers have to put up with it. We seldom saw Indians here.

Our next drive brought us to the foot of the Mojave. Here we found better water and very good grass.

This stream sinks out of sight and there is no water along it, except in holes, for thirty miles.

At the end of the next day's drive we camped at the head of this stream.

From here we drove into San Bernardino, arriving there on the thirteenth day of January, 1858. It was warm and delightful weather and the grass was green.

Here we found Crooks, Cooper, and Collins. When they found out what Mr. Savage charged us to let us work our passage through, they were determined that he should give us back our horses and saddles. But we told them that the ship that landed us safely out of *Utah,* no matter what the cost, was welcome to all it got, for now we could breathe easy.

I will go back to my friends—Tuttle, whom I left at Bridger to get his brother out of the army, and Sherwood at Spanish Fork among the Mormons.

Sherwood, I afterward learned, joined the Church, and worked around and got enough money to make a payment on a house and lot. He gained the good graces of a prominent Mormon's daughter, and got Brigham's consent to marry her. Then he got an outfit to go back to the States after a threshing machine, and, when spring opened so that he could cross the mountains, Brigham gave him a pass to go after his machine, and he started.

When two days out, he met a man with a few wagons loaded with merchandise. This man had come out and wintered at Bridger, and was going into the city to sell his goods. Tuttle, having succeeded in getting his brother out of the army, was with him.

This man feared that Brigham would not allow him to sell them in the Territory and offered Sherwood and Tuttle a good commission if Sherwood would get a permit from Brigham and help sell them.

Sherwood went back to Salt Lake City and told Brigham that this man was owing him, and his only show to get his pay was out of these goods.

Brigham gave him a permit and he went back, and they bought the goods, and sold them at a big commission, making quite a little stake out of it.

Then Sherwood with Tuttle and his brother went back to Wisconsin.

In 1862 I was in Spanish Fork, but Sherwood had not got back with his threshing machine, nor to claim his Mormon girl.

THE JUDICIARY OF THE TERRITORY OF IOWA

COURTS IN THE IOWA COUNTRY PRIOR TO 1838

The year 1833 was one of unusual interest and importance in the history of Iowa for it was during this year that the first general influx of white population came into the unsettled country west of the Mississippi. Among the newcomers were two miners, Patrick O'Connor and George O'Keaf, both natives of Ireland. O'Connor was a man of vicious character who had lived for a time at Galena, Illinois, but had become involved in crime and had been forced to leave that vicinity. Upon his arrival in Iowa he formed a partnership with George O'Keaf, and for a time gave promise of industry and reform.

The two men built a cabin about two miles south of Dubuque, where they engaged in operating a mine. It was not long, however, until trouble ensued. On the 19th of May, 1834, O'Keaf went to Dubuque to secure provisions and upon his return found that his partner had locked the door. When asked to open it O'Connor replied that he would do so when he got ready. Thereupon O'Keaf placed his shoulder against the door and forced it open. O'Connor, who was seated at the opposite side of the room leveled his musket and fired, killing O'Keaf instantly.

Soon a crowd of miners gathered and some one suggested that the murderer be immediately hanged to a tree in front of the cabin. Indeed, a rope was procured for that purpose, but a more deliberate judgment prevailed, and it was agreed to investigate the case before taking such radical action. Accordingly, O'Connor was taken to Dubuque, and on the 20th of May, 1834, the first trial for murder in what

is now Iowa was held in the open air, beneath the wide-spreading branches of a large elm tree.

Captain White was appointed prosecuting attorney and Captain Bates of Galena, Illinois, who happened to be present, was selected by O'Connor as his attorney. Twenty-four men were named from among the bystanders, and from this group Woodbury Massey, Hosea L. Camp, John McKensie, Milo H. Prentice, James Smith, Jesse M. Harrison, Thomas McCabe, Nicholas Carrol, John S. Smith, and Antoine Loire, with two others whose names are not known, were selected as jurors by O'Connor. These men being seated upon some logs, Captain White asked O'Connor if he was satisfied with the jury. O'Connor replied that he had no objection to any of the men, but insisted that there was no law in the country by which he could be legally prosecuted. This objection was quickly overruled and the trial proceeded.

After the witnesses had been examined the attorneys began their addresses to the jury.[1] Captain Bates urged that the case be taken to the State of Illinois for a hearing. Captain White replied that other offenders had been sent to Illinois, and had been released on a writ of habeas corpus. He contended, moreover, that the State courts had no jurisdiction in cases arising west of the Mississippi River. Following these arguments the jury retired and after an hour's deliberation returned with the following verdict:

> We the undersigned, residents of the Dubuque Lead Mines, being chosen by Patrick O'Conner, and empanneled as a Jury to try the matter wherein Patrick O'Conner is charged with the murder of George O'Keaf, do find that the said Patrick O'Conner is guilty of murder in the first degree, and ought to be, and is

[1] Black's *Lynchings in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. X, p. 169.

by us sentenced to be hung by the neck until he is dead; which sentence shall take effect on Tuesday the 20th day of June, 1834, at one o'clock P. M.[2]

O'Connor was accordingly executed on the date fixed. Thus it will be seen that the first murder trial in the Iowa country was conducted, and the first execution directed, by a self-appointed court. The case is interesting, moreover, because it was the first attempt at judicial procedure within the limits of the Commonwealth of Iowa, and it is important chiefly for the reason that it attracted wide attention and exhibited the need of a regularly organized judicial system.

Soon after the execution at Dubuque the Iowa country was reorganized. This was accomplished by an act of Congress approved on June 28, 1834. This act provided that the country north of the State of Missouri and between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers should be temporarily attached to the Territory of Michigan.[3] The land included in the transfer embraced not only the present State of Iowa, but the eastern half of North and South Dakota and the larger portion of what is now Minnesota. At the close of the Black Hawk War, in 1832, the Sac and Fox Indians had ceded to the United States government a strip of territory in Iowa, which extended some fifty miles westward from the Mississippi River, and from the northern boundary of Missouri northward to the southern boundary of the Neutral Ground.[4] This Sac and Fox cession was known as the "Black Hawk Purchase" and later as the "Iowa District". It was this "Iowa District" which was now organized into counties of the Territory of Michigan

2 *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, pp. 569, 570.

3 *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. IV, p. 701.

4 See map accompanying Garver's *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, p. 441.

On September 6, 1834, the Legislative Assembly of Michigan divided this district into two counties, by running a line "due west from the lower end of Rock Island."[5] The territory north of this line was named Dubuque County, all south of it was Demoine[6] County. A court was organized in each county, to be held at Dubuque and Burlington. John King and William Morgan were appointed judges of the respective districts. The first court was held in a log cabin in Burlington in April, 1835.

The organization of the Iowa district under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Michigan was, however, of brief duration. The people of Michigan were at this time agitating the question of statehood. Moreover, it was apparent that the Territory was too large to be admitted as a State. Accordingly, George Wallace Jones, a Territorial delegate to Congress, on the 7th of January, 1836, presented a bill providing for a division of this land, and for the establishment of a new Territory. On the 20th of April this bill became a law, and the Territory of Wisconsin was created.[7] It included the area of the present States of Wisconsin, Iowa, and parts of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

Under the organic law of this new Territory the judiciary was vested in a Supreme Court, district courts, probate courts, and justices of the peace.[8] The Supreme Court consisted of a chief justice and two associate justices. The law further provided that the Territory should be divided into three judicial districts; and that a district court should be held in each of the districts, by one of the judges of the

[5] *Laws of the Territory of Michigan,* Vol. III, p. 1326.

[6] This is the spelling found in the act.

[7] Parish's *George Wallace Jones,* p. 18.

[8] Organic Act of Wisconsin, Sec. 9, in Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 84.

Supreme Court, at such times and places as might be prescribed by law.[9]

Henry Dodge, Governor of the Territory, in his first annual message to the Legislative Assembly, on October 26, 1836, recommended the early action of that body, "in defining the jurisdiction and powers of the several Courts of this territory, dividing the territory into judicial districts, and prescribing the times and places of holding the proper Courts."[10] In emphasizing the importance of this matter he said: "There is now in confinement in several counties in this territory, criminals charged with capital offences; and the due administration of justice requires that they should be tried as early as competent courts can be organized."[11]

In accordance with this suggestion, the legislature on November 15th passed an act relative to the judiciary. This act provided that the counties of Dubuque and Des Moines should constitute the second judicial district, to which David Irvin, one of the judges of the Territorial Supreme Court, was assigned as judge.[12] The law further provided that there should be two terms of the district courts held annually in each of the counties. The times appointed for the holding of such courts were: in Dubuque County, on the first Monday in May and the second Monday in October; in Des Moines County on the first Monday in April, and the first Monday in September.[13]

9 Organic Act of Wisconsin, Sec. 9, in Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 85.

10 Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 3.

11 Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 3.

12 *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin,* 1836–1838, p. 18.

13 *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin,* 1836–1838, pp. 19, 20.

Under the provisions of this act the first District Court convened in Dubuque County in May, 1837. This session was held in a two-story log house, at Fourth and Main streets, Dubuque, Judge David Irvin presiding. Owing to the ill-health of Judge Irvin nearly the whole docket was continued until the June term of 1838.[14]

In the original county of Demoine no district court was held. This condition was due to the fact that before the time appointed for the holding of such court a law had been passed dividing the county, and providing for courts in each of the new counties. This law was entitled "An Act dividing the county of Des Moines[15] into several new counties." It was approved December 7, 1836, and went into force immediately. By its terms the territory included in the former county of Des Moines, together with the Keokuk Reservation[16] was divided into seven new counties, one of which retained the name of Des Moines. The other six counties created at this time were: Lee, Van Buren, Henry, Louisa, Musquitine, and Cook.[17]

The times appointed for the holding of the district courts in the several counties were as follows: At the "town of Madison, in the county of Lee, on the last Monday in March and on the last Monday in August in each year; in the town of Farmington, in the county of Van Buren, on the second Monday in April and the second Monday in September in each year; in the town of Mountpleasant, in the county of Henry, on the first Friday after the second Monday in April and September in each year; in the town of

[14] Oldt's *History of Dubuque County, Iowa,* pp. 448, 449.

[15] The spelling is modernized in this act.

[16] The Keokuk Reservation had been ceded to the United States on September 28, 1836. See *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. VII, p. 517.

[17] For a complete discussion of the establishment of counties in Iowa see THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, pp. 375-456.

Wapello, in the county of Louisa, on the first Thursda after the third Monday in April and September in eac year; in the town of Bloomington, in the county of Mus quitine, on the fourth Monday in April and September i each year."[18] The county of Cook was attached to th county of Musquitine for all judicial purposes.

In accordance with the terms of this act the first distric courts held in the counties of southeastern Iowa convene during the early months of 1837. The first of these wa held at Fort Madison, in Lee County, on March 27th. Upo this date a number of persons were summoned to serv as a grand jury, but were found to be illegally drawn an were discharged. It soon became apparent to the cou that a proper number of grand jurors could not be pr cured. Hence after a session of two days, the court ad journed until the next regular term. On August 28, 183 the second session of the court convened. The grand jur at this time returned sixty-two indictments, of which fift six were for gambling, three for assault, one for injurin cattle, and two for assault with intent to kill. The tw latter cases were against Wade Hampton Rattan. Whe these cases came up for trial in April, 1839, the defenda failed to appear and default was entered. The other i dictments, with two or three exceptions, were dismissed a being defective.[19]

In Henry County the first session of the District Cou convened at Mt. Pleasant on the 14th of April, 1837. grand jury was chosen and given a room in a log cabi in which to deliberate. After some time the jury returne and reported that they had no presentments to offer. Th court was evidently displeased with this report, for sooner had the jury been discharged than a new one w

[18] *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin*, 1836–1838, p. 78.

[19] *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company), p. 4

impaneled. This time the jury did better, and returned some five or six true bills, each of which charged the defendant with assault and battery. The second session of the court convened on September 15, 1837, but as the judge failed to appear, court was adjourned until the following April. At this time there was but one important case tried. It was that of United States *v.* William S. Tally, indicted on the charge of arson. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty and the prisoner was dismissed.[20]

In the counties of Van Buren, Louisa, and Muscatine, cases similar to these arose and were dealt with in much the same manner. In a majority of cases prosecution failed to result in punishment. The records in Louisa County show that court convened on Thursday, April 20, 1837. On the following day there was a motion to quash twelve indictments—eight of which were for assault and battery. The grounds of the motion were: first, there was no seal; second, there was no indorsement by an attorney. The motion was sustained and the indictments quashed.[21]

In returning to the two original counties, Dubuque and Des Moines, it will be remembered that there was one term of the District Court held in Dubuque County in 1837, and that a majority of the cases were continued until the June term of 1838. This latter term did not convene, however, owing to the fact that prior to this date—on December 21, 1837—the legislature passed an act dividing the county of Dubuque, and forming fourteen new counties.[22] In the creation of these counties the legislature included not only the original county of Dubuque, but also a large part of the Sac and Fox Cession of 1837, and even extended the

[20] *History of Henry County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company), pp. 398, 399.

[21] Springer's *History of Louisa County, Iowa,* pp. 75, 78.

[22] *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin,* 1836–1838, pp. 132-138.

boundaries into the Indian country not yet ceded to the United States. The fourteen counties formed at this time were: Dubuque, Clayton, Jackson, Benton, Linn, Jones, Clinton, Johnson, Scott, Delaware, Buchanan, Cedar, Fayette, and Keokuk.[23] Most of these counties were not organized for judicial purposes until some months later, under the authority of the legislature of the Territory of Iowa.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COURTS IN THE TERRITORY OF IOWA

The people of Wisconsin soon found that both their area and their population were too large for one organization. The result was another division of the Territory. This was accomplished by an act of Congress approved on June 12, 1838.[24] This law provided that the part of the Territory lying west of the Mississippi River, and west of a line drawn due north from the source of said river, should form a new Territory, to be known as the Territory of Iowa.

The act further provided that the judicial power of the newly created Territory should be vested in a Supreme Court, district courts, probate courts, and in justices of the peace. The Supreme Court was to consist of a chief justice and two associate justices,[25] all of whom were to be appointed by the President of the United States. The tenure of office for the judges was established at four years. It was further provided that the Territory should be divided into three judicial districts, and that a district court or courts should be held in each of the three districts, by one of the judges of the Supreme Court, at such times and places a

23 See map in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, p. 443.

24 *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. V, p. 235.

25 Organic Act of the Territory of Iowa, Sec. 9, in Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 108.

should be provided by law.[26] The jurisdiction of the various courts was defined, and provision was made for the appointment of clerks.

In order that the judiciary might not be delayed in its action, it was provided that temporarily, and until otherwise provided by law of the Legislative Assembly, the Governor of the Territory should define the judicial districts and assign the judges in accordance with his own discretion. He was also given power to appoint the times for holding courts in the several counties of each district. It was understood, however, that the legislature might at any time alter or modify the judicial districts, and change the location of the judges or the times of holding court, if such changes seemed expedient.[27] Another feature of the Organic Act was a clause which provided that in case of the death, removal, resignation, or necessary absence of the Governor from the Territory, the Secretary should act as the executive, during such vacancy or necessary absence.[28]

Soon after the passage of the law creating the Territory of Iowa, President Van Buren appointed Robert Lucas of Ohio as Governor, and William B. Conway of Pennsylvania as Secretary. As Judges of the Supreme Court he appointed Charles Mason of Burlington, Chief Justice, and Joseph Williams of Pennsylvania, and Thomas S. Wilson of Dubuque as his associates. At the time when the Organic Act went into effect—July 4, 1838—neither the Governor nor the Secretary had yet arrived in the Territory, hence the provisions relative to the establishment of the judicial districts could not be immediately carried into effect. In-

[26] Organic Act of the Territory of Iowa, Sec. 9, in Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 108.

[27] Organic Act of the Territory of Iowa, Sec. 20, in Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 116.

[28] Organic Act of the Territory of Iowa, Sec. 3, in Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 104.

deed all governmental action was delayed until the arrival of Secretary Conway on July 20th. Three days later he was sworn into office by Judge Irvin,[29] and immediately thereafter entered upon his official duties.

Mr. Conway was a young man, inexperienced and ambitious. He was, therefore, very glad to comply with the provisions of the Organic Act, in assuming the duties and the dignity of Acting Governor, until the arrival of Governor Lucas. One of his first acts after assuming this office was to issue a proclamation, on July 25th, dividing the Territory into three judicial districts, assigning a judge to each district and designating the time at which the court in each county should be held. Prior to this time Cook County had been disestablished and a new county, Slaughter, had been created.[30] Moreover, six of the fourteen counties, created from the original county of Dubuque, had been provided with local government. Thirteen of the twenty-one counties now existing were to be assigned judges; and it was with reference to the districting of these thirteen counties that Secretary Conway issued his proclamation.

The apportionment according to Mr. Conway's plan was as follows:

1. The counties of Clayton, DuBuque, Jackson and Cedar, shall form and constitute the first Judicial District, which is hereby assigned to the Hon. THOMAS S. WILSON.
2. The counties of Scott, Musquitine, Louisa, Slaughter and Johnson, shall form and constitute the second Judicial District, which is hereby assigned to the Hon. JOSEPH WILLIAMS.
3. The counties of Lee, Van Buren, Henry and Des Moines, shall form and constitute the third Judicial District, which is hereby

29 Parish's *Robert Lucas*, pp. 170, 171.

30 Garver's *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, p. 390.

assigned to the Hon. CHARLES MASON, Chief Justice of the Territory of Iowa.[31]

The time which was designated in the Secretary's proclamation for the holding of the courts in the several counties was as follows:

1st. District

In Clayton county, on the 2d Monday in September next.
Du Buque, 1st Thursday after said second Monday.
Jackson, 4th Monday in September, and Cedar, 1st Monday in October.

2nd. District

In Scott county, 1st Thursday after the first Monday in October next.
Musquitine, 2nd Monday in October.
Louisa, 3rd Monday in October.
Slaughter, 4th Monday in October.
Johnson, 1st Thursday, after the 4th Monday in October.

3rd. District.

In Lee county, 1st Monday in November next.
Van Buren, 2nd Monday in November.
Henry, 3rd Monday in November.
Des Moines, 4th Monday in November.[32]

The plan as completed by Mr. Conway formed the basis upon which to work in the development of the early courts, but it was not destined to remain long in force. The first Legislative Assembly met at Burlington on November 12, 1838;[33] and on January 21, 1839, an act was passed which altered the several districts, and changed the times of holding courts.

[31] Shambaugh's *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838–1841,* p. 5.

[32] Shambaugh's *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838–1841,* pp. 5, 6.

[33] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1838–1839, p. 3.

The provisions of this act include the following sections:

Sec. 2. The terms of the district courts, in each of the organized counties of this Territory, shall commence as follows, in each year:

In Henry county, on the first Mondays of April and August.

In Van Buren county, on the second Mondays of April and August.

In Lee county, on the fourth Mondays of April and August.

In Des Moines county, on the first Mondays of May and September.

In Johnson county, on the second Mondays of May and September.

In Cedar county, on the third Mondays in May and September.

In Scott county, on the fourth Mondays in May and September.

In Muscatine county, on the first Mondays in June and October.

In Louisa county, on the second Mondays in June and October.

In Slaughter county, on the third Mondays in June and October.

In Clayton county, on the first Mondays of April and September.

In Jackson county, on the second Mondays of April and September.

In Du Buque county, on the third Mondays of April and September.

Sec. 3. The counties of Henry, Van Buren, Lee, and Des Moines, shall compose the first judicial district, and Charles Mason is assigned to the same as district judge thereof.

The counties of Louisa, Muscatine, Cedar, Johnson, and Slaughter, shall compose the second judicial district, and Joseph Williams is assigned to the same as district judge thereof.

The counties of Jackson, Du Buque, Scott, and Clayton, shall compose the third judicial district, and Thomas S. Wilson is assigned to the same as district judge thereof.

Sec. 4. For judicial purposes, the county of Linn is hereby attached to the county of Johnson, the county of Jones to the

county of Cedar, and the county of Clinton to the county of Scott.[34]

It is interesting to note in what particular and to what extent this legislative act altered the plan as outlined by Mr. Conway. An examination of the two plans of apportionment will show that the counties Henry, Van Buren, Lee, and Des Moines which Mr. Conway designated as the third judicial district were made the first judicial district by the legislature; that the counties Jackson, Dubuque, and Clayton, which had been in the first district, and Scott The time which was designated in the Secretary's pro- to make up the third district; and further that Cedar County was transferred from the first to the second judi- cial district. It will also be noted that the counties of Linn, Jones, and Clinton, which Mr. Conway had not mentioned, were provided with courts. This change increased, from thirteen to sixteen, the number of counties of the Territory having a regularly organized judiciary.

TERRITORIAL LEGISLATION WITH REFERENCE TO THE JUDICIARY

Not only did the legislature provide plans for the district ourts, and extend the judiciary into the newly reorganized ounties, but throughout the Territorial period, it continued o pass laws placing the various courts upon a more fficient basis. The first law relative to the judiciary was ne which provided that the Supreme Court should hold s first session in the city of Burlington on November 28, 838. This bill passed the House of Representatives on ovember 24th,[35] and was approved by the Council on the 6th.[36] It did not receive the Governor's signature and be-

[34] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, pp. 128, 129.

[35] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1838-1839, p. 44.

[36] *Journal of the Council*, 1838–1839, p. 53.

come a law, however, until the 28th[37]—the very day upon which, under its provision, the court should have convened. This date is sometimes given as the time of the convening of the first session of the court. It would seem, however, that this is an error, since no cases are reported as having come before the court at that time.

On January 21, 1839, another act was passed the terms of which were that there should be two terms of the Supreme Court held annually at the seat of government of the Territory, commencing on the first Mondays in July and December.[38] This law remained in force for about a year, and resulted in two terms of the Supreme Court during the year 1839.

At the session of the legislature in 1839-1840 the law was again changed, by providing for an annual session of the court, to convene on the "first Monday in July in each year".[39] During the next two years this law remained in force, and accordingly in 1840 and again in 1841 there was but a single session of the court, convening each year in July.

Early in January, 1842, still another change was made by the passage of an act providing that the term of the Supreme Court should be held at Iowa City, beginning on January 10, 1842, and that in following years the annual term should be held at the seat of government, on the first Monday in January in each year.[40] This law was not finally approved until January 10th, the day upon which it provided for the meeting of the court. As a result of this delay it was impossible for the court to convene upon the day appointed, hence this clause of the law was without

37 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, p. 108.

38 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, pp. 128-130.

39 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1839–1840, pp. 166, 167.

40 *Revised Statutes of the Territory of Iowa*, 1842–1843, Ch. 43.

effect, and there was no session of the Supreme Court held during that year. The clause of the law which provided for the meeting of the court in following years remained in force, however, and throughout the remainder of the Territorial period the court convened at Iowa City in January of each year.

At the beginning of the Territorial period the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court followed that of the corresponding court of the Territory of Wisconsin as provided for in the legislative act of 1836. Accordingly, although it was primarily an appellate court, dealing with cases appealed from the several courts, it had original jurisdiction in such matters as habeas corpus, mandamus, quo warranto, and other processes not especially provided for by statute.[41] The legislation upon this point during the Territorial period was not such as to change materially the power of the court. By an act passed in 1843 the legislature declared that the Supreme Court should have the final decision in all matter of appeal, writs of error, or complaints arising from decrees of the lower courts. It provided, moreover, that the Supreme Court should have a general supervision of all inferior courts.[42]

With reference to the lower courts a number of laws were passed, some of which should be mentioned in this connection. On January 23, 1839, an act was passed relative to the proceedings in chancery.[43] This law provided that the several district courts should have exclusive original jurisdiction of all matters in chancery, in which a plain, adequate, and complete remedy could not be had at law. Special chancery terms were provided for, and the

[41] 1 Morris 36.

[42] *Revised Statutes of the Territory of Iowa*, 1842–1843, Ch. 46.

[43] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, p. 130.

judges were authorized to establish such rules of procedure as seemed necessary and expedient.

Another act that added efficiency to the judicial system was one establishing probate courts.[44] By the terms of this act it was provided that there should be established, in each county of the Territory, a court of record to be known as the Probate Court. The jurisdiction of this court was coextensive with the limits of the county and extended to all matters relative to estates, testate or intestate. The court was to convene in the respective counties, on the first Monday of each month, and at such other times as extraordinary circumstances might require. Some suitable person within the county was to be appointed judge for a term of three years.

Justice of the peace courts were also provided for by legislative enactments.[45] The law upon this point was to the effect that there should be appointed in each organized county of the Territory as many justices of the peace as, in the opinion of the Governor, the public good might require. The jurisdiction of the justice of the peace was coextensive with the limits of the county, and extended to actions of debt, covenant and assumpsit, action on contract, trespass, and other civil cases, where the amount involved or the damage claimed did not exceed fifty dollars.

Aside from the laws passed organizing and establishing the several courts there were other acts passed which were of primary importance in the development of the judiciary. One of the most important of these laws was entitled "An Act defining Crimes and Punishments."[46] This law constituted the Criminal Code of the Territory. It defined in detail each of the crimes punishable under the law, desig-

44 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, pp. 126, 127.

45 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, pp. 282-285.

46 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, pp. 142-172.

nating the nature and extent of punishment applicable to each case. This code contains one hundred and nine sections and covers some thirty pages of printed matter.

Another legislative enactment relevant to a consideration of the judiciary was "An Act regulating Practice in the district courts of the Territory of Iowa". The first section of this law provided that "all writs issued by any court in this Territory shall run in the name of the United States of America, and bear test in the name of the presiding judge and shall be sealed with the seal of said court, signed by the clerk thereof, and made returnable to the first day of the next term, after the date of such writs."[47] The act then prescribed the manner in which service should be had and indicated the method of procedure before the courts.

In reviewing the laws passed with reference to the courts, one is impressed with the advance made during the Territorial period and especially during the first session of the legislature. This progress seems to have been due to the conditions of the courts when the legislature first convened, and to the zeal and efficiency of the men entrusted with the duty of formulating the laws. From the very beginning of the legislative session a keen interest was shown in matters pertaining to the judiciary. On November 14th, the third day of the session, the President of the Council appointed ten committees, one of which was the Committee on the Judiciary. The members of this committee were Stephen Hempstead, Jonathan W. Parker, and E. A. Swazy. On the following day, November 15th, a committee similar to this, but consisting of five members, was appointed in the House of Representatives. The members of this committee were James W. Grimes, S. C. Hastings, Hardin

[47] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, p. 370.

Nowlin, James Hall, and Laurel Summers.[48] Upon these men, together with the Judges of the Supreme Court, devolved the duty of formulating the laws relative to the judiciary.

The manner in which the Judges of the Supreme Court were involved in the formulating of the laws, and thus given a legislative function, is shown by the legislative journals. On November 14th, the day upon which the first legislative committees were appointed, James W. Grimes introduced a resolution requesting the Judges to submit to the House of Representatives such bills as they thought would increase the efficiency of the judiciary.[49] There seems to have been no further action upon this resolution. But on November 21st, on motion of S. C. Hastings, the House adopted the following resolution:

> Resolved, by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Iowa, That the judges of the supreme court be requested to furnish this Legislative Assembly, during its present session, with such bills as will in their opinion form a proper code of jurisprudence for Iowa, and regulate the practice of the courts thereof.[50]

This action was immediately approved by the Council and the law became effective.[51]

The assistance of the Judges in formulating proper laws is shown in the communication of Judge Mason to the House of Representatives on November 16, 1838, some days before the first resolution relative to compensation had been introduced. In this message the Judge said:

48 *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1838–1839, p. 20; *Journal of the Council,* 1838–1839, p. 23.

49 *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1838–1839, p. 20.

50 *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1838–1839, p. 33.

51 *Journal of the Council,* 1838–1839, p. 41.

In compliance with the resolution passed in the House of Representatives on the 14th inst., I herewith present a bill for regulating Criminal procedure in Courts of Justice. Having been requested by one of the members of that body to draft such a bill, I had been engaged some time in preparing it and had nearly completed it when the resolution was adopted. As it is not convenient at present to consult with the other judges in relation to this matter, and I am informed it is desirable to have the bill in readiness for legislative action as soon as practicable, I have been induced to present it at once for the disposal of the House.[52]

Following this communication numerous other recommendations were made by the Supreme Judges. Among the less important laws suggested by them were acts relative to informations in the nature of quo warranto, writs of attachments, trespass, bonds, replevin, and other civil actions. Of the more important pieces of legislation in which judicial assistance was had, the Judges introduced the bill which established the probate courts,[53] and the act which provided that the district courts be given jurisdiction in matters in chancery.[54]

Of the eight men appointed to the committees on judiciary, it appears from an examination of the legislative record that Messrs. Grimes, Nowlin, and Hempstead were perhaps the most active in securing desirable legislation for the courts.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE TERRITORIAL COURTS

Of the men who have contributed to the development of the judiciary in Iowa none stand out more prominently than the Judges of the Supreme Court during the Territorial period. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the

[52] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1838–1839, p. 31.

[53] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1838–1839, pp. 126, 127.

[54] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1838–1839, p. 197.

success and efficiency of our early courts was determined by the attitude of these men. It may, therefore, be of interest in this connection to consider, somewhat in detail, the character, qualifications, and experiences of each of these three men prior to the date of their appointment to the bench.

Judge Mason sprang from an ancestry of considerable note. He was a descendant of Captain John Mason, a daring English naval commander, who, after receiving many honors from the sovereigns of England, died about 1635 and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Charles Mason was born on October 24, 1804, in the town of Pompey, Onondaga County, New York. After receiving such education as the schools of his native place could afford, in 1825, in his twenty-first year he entered the National Military Academy at West Point, where he was graduated in 1829 with the honor of the first rank in his class. This fact becomes significant when it is remembered that the distinguished Robert E. Lee was graduated in the same class. Upon receiving his commission in the army, after his graduation, Mason's first assignment to duty was as instructor at West Point. After two years spent there he resigned from the army, and began the study of law in New York City, where he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of his profession.

In 1832, soon after his admission to the bar, he removed to Newburg, New York, where he formed a partnership with Judge Hasbruck. After remaining there for two years he returned to New York City, and while there he became a frequent contributor to the *Evening Post,* then edited by the distinguished poet, William Cullen Bryant. During the editor's absence on a tour of Europe, Mason was for a time editor of the *Post.* Thus as student, lawyer, and editor he was employed until 1836. In the summer of

that year he made his first visit to the West. He soon returned to New York, but came back again and spent the winter of 1836-1837 at Belmont, the temporary capital of the Territory of Wisconsin. In the spring of 1837 he first came to Burlington, which was at that time a mere hamlet, but had recently become the capital of Wisconsin Territory. This was Mason's first visit to what is now Iowa. It is believed that the trip from Belmont to Burlington was made on horseback.

He again visited the East during the summer of 1837, and on August 1st of that year, was married to Miss Angeline Gear, of Berkshire, Massachusetts. In the following November he returned with his wife and located at Burlington. He came this time as United States Attorney, having been appointed to that office to assist Governor Henry Dodge in the administration of the government of the Territory of Wisconsin.[55] His term of office as United States Attorney was, however, very brief for as already indicated, the Territory of Iowa was created in June of the following year (1838) and he was immediately appointed to the office of Chief Justice, a position which he was eminently fitted to occupy.[56]

[55] The facts contained in this sketch are for the most part taken from the *Iowa Historical Record,* Vol. IX, pp. 529-540.

[56] Judge Mason's service to Iowa did not end with the Territorial days; his name continued to be prominent in State affairs for many years. When the controversy arose between Iowa and Missouri relative to the boundary, he was appointed by Governor Hempstead to represent Iowa in the Supreme Court of the United States, where he succeeded in obtaining a decree in favor of Iowa. He was one of the commissioners to revise and codify the laws of Iowa, which resulted in the *Code of 1851.* In 1853 he was appointed Commissioner of Patents and removed to Washington. In 1857 he resigned and returned to Iowa and in the following year was elected a member of the first State Board of Education. In 1861 he was nominated for Governor by the Democratic State convention but declined the nomination. He was again nominated for Governor in 1867 but was defeated by Samuel Merrill, the Republican candidate. In 1868 and again in 1872 he was elected delegate to

A consideration of the early life of Judge Williams presents a picture quite different from that of Judge Mason, although no less unique and interesting. His strong personality and pleasing manner never failed to attract attention. Instances illustrating his peculiar traits, his versatile talents, his varied accomplishments, his keen sense of humor, and amusing anecdotes are found wherever the name of Judge Williams is mentioned. He was born in Huntington, Pennsylvania, on December 8, 1801,[57] and was a brother of the distinguished William Williams, who in 1857 led the Relief Expedition after the Spirit Lake Massacre.

Little is known of Judge Williams's early education, except that it was sufficient to give him a correct and commanding knowledge of the English language. As a young man he entered upon the study of law in the office of Chauncy Forward, one of the most celebrated lawyers in Pennsylvania. After his admission to the bar he settled at Somerset, where he continued to practice law for a number of years. Reports of cases in which he acted as counsel reveal the fact that he possessed extremely shrewd methods of cross examination, and indicate that he was a practitioner of more than usual ability in conducting cases. He was not an incessant student of the law and intellectually he was far from the equal of Judge Mason, but for innate ability, shrewdness, and witticism he had few if any equals among his associates. Judge Mason said that he was "one of the most companionable and entertaining men I have

the National Democratic conventions. The last few years of his life were spent in retirement on his farm near Burlington, where he died on February 25, 1882, at the age of seventy-seven years.—*Iowa Historical Record,* Vol. IX, pp. 529-535.

57 Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. IV, p. 287; Stiles's *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa,* pp. 38-44.

ever known, and although perhaps not what would be termed a very close student, was a man of exceedingly quick parts and arrived at just conclusions as if by intuition.''[58]

When as a young man he entered the law office of Chauncy Forward, he met a fellow student, Jeremiah S. Black, with whom he became closely associated. After their admission to the bar these two men were fellow-practitioners at the Somerset bar. Black later became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and a member of President Buchanan's cabinet. When Iowa became a Territory he urged the appointment of his friend, Joseph Williams, to the supreme bench of the new Territory and it was perhaps through his influence more than that of any other man that the appointment was made.

At the time of the appointment Judge Williams was thirty-seven years of age, and several years the senior of either of his associates. Although he was considered a brilliant and successful lawyer, he had not acquired a reputation extending beyond the limits of his native State. Moreover, it was the opinion of many of his friends that he would never make a successful judge. They believed that his jovial nature and social aptitude were such as to disqualify him for the bench. But notwithstanding his marked social characteristics, he was able to maintain a high degree of dignity, and to attain a place of high standing among the members of the supreme bench.[59]

[58] *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, p. 169.

[59] After a service of more than eight years on the Supreme Court bench Judge Williams resumed the practice of law. His retirement from the bench was, however, brief. In December, 1848, by a joint ballot of the Legislative Assembly he was called to the position of Chief Justice of the State. This position he held for a period of six years, retiring in 1855. In 1857 he was appointed one of the Federal judges for the Territory of Kansas and removed to Fort Scott. During Lincoln's administration he was appointed

The third member of the Supreme Court, Judge Thomas S. Wilson, was born at Steubenville, Ohio, on the 13th day of October, 1813. He was descended from a long line of honorable ancestors upon both sides. His great-great-grandfather landed at the present site of Philadelphia with William Penn. His grandfather was in the Revolutionary War, and held a commission signed by George Washington. His father was an attorney in Philadelphia for a time, but later removed to Steubenville, where he married Miss Frances Stokeley. Judge Wilson was the third child of this marriage. He was educated in the schools of his home town until fitted for college, when he entered Jefferson College, at Havensbury, Pennsylvania. Here he was graduated in the class of 1833 when only nineteen years of age. After graduating he obtained a clerkship in the land office at Steubenville, and at once entered upon the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1835, and began the practice of law at the Steubenville bar.[60]

On the 20th day of September, 1836, he was married to Miss Anna Hoge, the daughter of Colonel David Hoge, a prominent citizen of his native town. The next day the newly married couple took a boat down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, to make their future home in the frontier region. In October, 1836, he came to Dubuque. The future Iowa was at this time a part of the Territory of Wisconsin, and Dubuque was one of the leading towns of the frontier. A number of years later Judge Wilson gave the following account of his settlement in the West:

When I came to Wisconsin I landed with my wife at Prairie

United States District Judge for Tennessee. He died at Fort Scott, Kansas, in March, 1871.—*Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, pp. 161-171; Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. IV, p. 287.

60 *Pioneer Law-Makers' Association of Iowa*, 1894, pp. 142, 143.

du Chien, as my brother, George Wilson, who was a lieutenant in General Taylor's regiment, was living there. George advised me to settle either at Mineral Point or Dubuque. I visited the former place, but did not like its appearance. On my way back to Prairie du Chien, feeling homesick and melancholy and much perplexed as to which of the two places would be the most desirable, I alighted from my horse at one of the Platt mounds and tossed up a dollar, saying to myself, "if heads turn up, I will go to Dubuque; if tails, to Mineral Point." It turned up heads and I started on a canter for Prairie du Chien. The steamer which made semi-annual visits to the town, had made its fall visit and we were obliged to put our baggage into a canoe, and by this means of conveyance we made our way to Dubuque. We reached Cassville the first evening, and Dubuque on the second, eating our mid-day lunches on the island.[61]

Upon arriving at Dubuque young Wilson immediately opened an office and began the practice of law. The following year, 1837, he was appointed by Governor Henry Dodge, as Prosecuting Attorney for Dubuque County. He soon resigned this office, however, for he said he "disliked the business of prosecuting."[62] In 1838 when the Territory of Iowa was organized he was nominated as a delegate to Congress, but declined the nomination to accept the office of Judge of the Supreme Court. When he received this appointment he was scarcely twenty-five years of age, and several years younger than his associates. It is evident that the appointment of one so young, to such a high and responsible office, shows that he must have been regarded as a young man of superior legal attainments.[63]

[61] *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series, Vol. X, p. 439.

[62] *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, p. 440.

[63] Judge Wilson remained prominent in politics for many years after the close of the Territorial period. The first legislature having failed to elect Supreme Judges, he was one of the three men appointed to fill the vacancy.

Having sketched the careers of the members of the Court, some attention should be given to the conditions under which they were appointed. In this connection it appears first of all that all of the appointees were Democrats. This fact was no doubt considered in making the appointments. But it is too much to assume that all of the appointments were made because of the political influence brought to bear by the individual appointees. Indeed, there is evidence tending to show that two of the appointments, that of Judge Mason and of Judge Wilson, were made without the appointee's knowledge. In writing upon this subject some years later Judge Mason said: "The first information I had on the subject was that the bill organizing the new territory had passed and that I had been appointed by President Van Buren, Chief Justice, with Joseph Williams of Pennsylvania and Thomas S. Wilson of Dubuque as my associates."[64]

Judge Wilson writing upon the same subject said:

As soon as the bill organizing Iowa was passed, the northern counties held mass meetings for nomination of a delegate to Congress, and I was nominated. . . . After my nomination, at the suggestion of friends, I prepared to canvass the lower counties of the

Soon he retired from the bench and entered into the practice of law. One of the cases in which he acted as counsel was that of Chouteau *v.* Molony, which involved the title to the land where the city of Dubuque now stands. The case finally went to the Supreme Court of the United States, where Mr. Wilson obtained a favorable decision. This he says was the most important case with which he was ever connected either as judge or counsel. In 1848 he was candidate for United States Senator, but was defeated by George Wallace Jones. In 1852 he was elected District Judge and served until 1863. In 1866 and again in 1868 he was a member of the State legislature. During the later years of his life he lived in comparative retirement, although he maintained a law office in the city of Dubuque, where he died on the 16th of May, 1894, at the age of eighty years.—*Pioneer Law-Makers' Association of Iowa,* 1894, pp. 142, 143; Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. IV, pp. 290, 291.

64 *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, p. 166.

Territory. When I arrived at the steamer to take my passage to Burlington, I was informed by the clerk that I had been appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Iowa. When I expressed my doubts about it he took me into the office and showed me a copy of the *Missouri Republican* which contained a notice of it. I then returned home to consider whether I should accept. After a few days' consideration I concluded to do so, and declined the nomination for Congress.[65]

As has been suggested in another connection the appointment of Judge Williams was made largely through the influence of Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania. The influences involved were not, however, such as to render the appointee subject to political control. In fact, in all the appointments there is reason to believe that the President had clearly in mind the desirability of appointing good and efficient men regardless of political party and partisan influences.

EARLY CASES IN THE DISTRICT AND SUPREME COURTS

The courts having been provided for by the Organic Act and by legislative enactments, and the appointment of judges having been made, some attention should be given to a consideration of the early cases arising in the several courts. The first sessions of the district courts in the various counties were characterized by a small amount of business, improvised methods of conducting court, and an abundance of zeal and enthusiasm on the part of the attorneys, who for the most part were young and anxious to establish a reputation. A few cases will suffice to illustrate this point. The first court held in Johnson County was convened on May 13, 1839, at Gilbert's trading house, some distance south of the present site of Iowa City. T. S. Par-

[65] *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, p. 440.

vin, Prosecuting Attorney and one of the first lawyers admitted to the bar in the Territory of Iowa, gives an extended report of this case. The officers of the court he says were: Judge—Hon. Joseph Williams of Bloomington (now Muscatine); Clerk—Luke Douglass; Prosecuting Attorney—T. S. Parvin of Bloomington; United States Attorney—Charles Weston of Davenport; United States Marshal—Charles Hendrie of Dubuque; Sheriff—S. C. Trowbridge of Johnson County.

The court held a three days session. "The grand jury met in a ravine on the prairie, near the trading house, the attorney using a log for a platform from which to harangue the jury."[66] The only business of importance transacted was the finding of a true bill of indictment against Andrew J. Gregg, on the charge of counterfeiting. Gregg was not well known in the community, but was believed to belong to a band of outlaws whose operations extended from Dubuque to the State of Missouri. There being no jail in which to imprison him, it was necessary to put a guard over him day and night.

After being thus guarded for several weeks, and indeed it is said, until the expense incurred exceeded the whole revenue of the county for a year, he by some means secured a pistol, and bidding defiance to his guards, coolly walked off and disappeared.[67] Thus the result of the first session of the district court was only to incur expense, and to impress upon the minds of the settlers the need of buildings and equipment for the enforcement and maintenance of order and justice. Some time later Gregg appeared at a social gathering in the neighborhood and attempted vio-

66 *Early Iowa—The Iowa City Republican Leaflet*, No. 16, pp. 65, 66.

67 *Early Iowa—The Iowa City Republican Leaflet*, No. 16, p. 62.

lence, but being hotly pursued he disappeared and was not again seen in Johnson County.[68]

The experiences in the early courts of Johnson County are typical of those elsewhere in the Territory. An early case in Lee County was one arising from the sale of a "blanket title" to a portion of land in the Half-breed Tract. A settler of somewhat questionable character sold a practically worthless claim to the Clerk of the District Court, for eight hundred dollars, and took his note for the amount, due in six months. When the time for payment arrived the purchaser refused payment, on the ground that the claim was valueless and that the note had been obtained by fraud. The case came to trial before Judge Mason in the District Court at Fort Madison. Philip Viele was attorney for the plaintiff, and D. F. Miller and W. H. Gilbraith for the defendant. The evidence of the witnesses being conflicting, the trial was severely contested, and gave ample opportunity for the young attorneys to exercise their wits in an attempt to overcome the opposition.

When the evidence was all in and the case ready for the argument of the attorneys, Miller whispered to his partner that the case was lost unless the plaintiff's attorney, Viele, made some error in presenting his argument. Gilbraith took the hint and in his argument dealt in a severe criticism of the opposing attorney, and said very little about the case at bar. As a result Viele became excited and let his argument fall far below his usual standard. This, together with the fact that he based his closing argument upon an untruth, resulted in a verdict for the defendant. As a final plea for the plaintiff, Viele took his client by the hand and represented to the court that he was an honest, hardworking man and that he had a wife and large family of chil-

[68] *Early Iowa—The Iowa City Republican Leaflet,* No. 16, p. 62.

dren depending upon his daily toil. The plea delivered in a sympathetic tone, and with graceful gesticulations, was greeted with a general buzz of approbation from the audience.

When the jury retired to consider their verdict it stood, on its first vote, eleven for the plaintiff and one for the defendant. The eleven demanded an explanation of the one supporting the defendant. He answered that he had intended to support the plaintiff too, until he heard Judge Viele's sympathetic appeal for the "wife and children". "For", he said, "I know the plaintiff well, and he has no wife nor children, and keeps *'bach'* in a log cabin; and as that statement of his lawyer was erroneous I believe the whole claim is a fraud."[69] It is needless to say that the opinion of the eleven men was changed and a verdict given in favor of the defendant.

Similar cases arose in various other counties of the Territory and were adjudicated in the same sort of improvised court, and under similar methods of procedure. While it is true that many of the cases thus contested were not of primary importance it would be a mistake to suppose that no important cases arose in these courts.

The first and perhaps the most important case to come before the Supreme Court of the Territory of Iowa was one arising in the District Court of Dubuque County. The case was one involving the question of slavery and is interesting in the light of the Dred Scott decision, rendered by the United States Supreme Court some years later. Montgomery, a citizen of the State of Missouri, owned a slave named Ralph, with whom he entered into a written agreement by which the latter was permitted to secure his freedom upon the payment of $550. Ralph removed t

69 *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. IX, pp. 614-616.

Iowa and succeeded in finding work at the Dubuque mines, but earned little more than was needed for his own support, hence he made no payment on the contract. Montgomery would, probably, never have claimed Ralph again had it not been for two kidnappers from Virginia, who offered to secure the negro and return him to his former master for a consideration of $100. This offer was accepted. The ruffians then made an affidavit that Ralph was a fugitive slave and procured an order from a magistrate to the sheriff to seize Ralph and deliver him to them to be taken to his master.

Ralph was working on a mineral lot a little west of Dubuque. He was seized by the sheriff and delivered to the kidnappers, who placed him in a wagon and took him to Bellevue, intending to take him to St. Louis on the first steamer. They avoided Dubuque, lest a writ of habeas corpus should be issued requiring the prisoner's release. Alex. Butterworth, a farmer, working in the field near Dubuque, went at once to the residence of Judge Wilson and demanded a writ of habeas corpus. The writ was granted and issued to the sheriff who started in pursuit of the party. He overtook them at Bellevue and Ralph was returned to Dubuque.[70]

When this case came before Judge Wilson in the district court, he recognized the importance of the question involved, and suggested that the suit be transferred to the Supreme Court of the Territory. In the higher court it was unanimously decided that Montgomery in granting Ralph the privilege of entering a free Territory, thereby gave him his freedom, and could not again take him into a slave State. In the opinion of the court slavery did not and could not exist in Iowa. Judge Mason, in delivering

[70] THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, pp. 88-95.

the opinion, held that where a slave with his master's consent became a resident of a free State or Territory he could not be regarded thereafter as a fugitive slave, nor could the master under such circumstances exercise any right of ownership over him; and that when the master applied to the courts for the purpose of controlling as property that which the laws declared should not be property, it was incumbent upon them to refuse their cooperation.[71]

This case came before the Supreme Court of the Territory in July, 1839, and was the only case adjudicated during that term. The decision is in direct conflict with that of the Dred Scott case, but is in accord with the spirit of the fourteenth amendment to the United States Constitution which deals with the question of citizenship. It is a fact worthy of notice that the first case in the Supreme Court was one involving a question of national importance, and was decided in accordance with the principle of human justice.

It will be remembered that the first Legislative Assembly provided that the Supreme Court should convene twice each year, on the first Mondays in July and December.[72] Under this provision the second term of court was convened in December, 1839. During this session ten cases were adjudicated, eight of which had to do with methods of court procedure, and the rules to be followed in the settlement of cases. In the case of Gordon and Washburn *v.* Higley the court held that the District Court might direct such a change in the verdict of a jury as to make their verdict correspond to the usual forms, wherever such change could not, by any possibility, alter the evident meaning of

[71] 1 Morris 1; Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 199.

[72] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1838–1839, p. 128.

their verdict. And furthermore that this change might be ordered after the members of the jury had separated.[73]

The case of Edward Powell *v.* The United States laid down the rule that it was not necessary that a defendant plead, the presumption being that he plead not guilty, but that the omission of an arraignment would be sufficient ground for reversing judgment.[74]

The case of Harrell *v.* Stringfield decided that technical phraseology in the verdict was not material and that an error which could work no harm would not be sufficient to warrant a reversal of the judgment.[75]

From these cases it will be observed that the judiciary was not in a dormant state, but rather that it was in the process of evolution, of growth and activity, each case adding something to what had gone before and thus contributing its part to the development of the present judicial system. A further evidence of the growing importance of the work of the Supreme Court is shown in the fact that at the July term of court in the following year, 1840, there was a docket of twenty-two cases, as against the one case adjudicated in July, 1839.

According to the original law establishing the time of holding court, the next session would have convened in December, 1840, but prior to this time, on January 17, 1840, the Legislative Assembly approved the law providing for an annual session of the Supreme Court, to convene on the "first Monday in July in each year". Accordingly there was no December session in that year, and the next session was convened in July, 1841. During this term twenty cases were adjudicated. These cases dealt with a variety of sub-

[73] 1 Morris 13.

[74] 1 Morris 17.

[75] 1 Morris 18.

jects such as negotiable instruments, forcible entry and detainer, debt, partnership, fraud, and questions of court procedure. None of these cases, however, were of primary importance as establishing fundamental principles of law.

THE REAPPOINTMENT OF JUDGES

It will be remembered that there was no session of the Supreme Court during the year 1842. From this fact one might expect to find a lack of interest in judicial affairs. An investigation of conditions, however, shows that quite the reverse was true. In accordance with the provisions of the Organic Act the Judges were appointed in 1838, and their commissions were to expire on July 4, 1842. Prior to this time the presidential election of 1840, and the death of President William Henry Harrison had resulted in a new President, John Tyler. It was the opinion of many that he would appoint members of his own party to supersede the Judges of the Territory of Iowa.

For more than a month after the expiration of the Judges' term of office, no appointment was made, and the Territory was without a judiciary. In the meanwhile the people of Iowa could only express their opinions as to what action would be taken. This they seem to have done very freely. On July 16th there appeared in one of the leading papers of the Territory the following comment:

> Not a word do we learn yet in regard to the appointment of Judges for our Territory. Mr. Tyler and his cabinet have forgotten, probably, that there is such a place as Iowa or that the people in so remote a Territory stand in need of either Judges, or laws, for the preservation of order and the protection of property among them.[76]

The facts indicate, however, that there was a more sig-

[76] *Iowa Capital Reporter* (Iowa City), July 16, 1842.

nificant reason than the one here assigned for the delay in making the reappointment. It was charged by the members of the Whig party that Judge Williams had from time to time participated in partisan politics and that in so doing he had become recognized rather as the "party's man than the People's magistrate."[77] In accordance with this feeling the Whigs addressed a petition to the President remonstrating against his reappointment. There was also a slight objection to the reappointment of Judge Mason. Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, in June, 1842, sent to the President the names of Thomas S. Wilson for Chief Justice, and Stephen Whicher, and Isaac Leffler for Associate Justices, and suggested their appointment. President Tyler was not, however, prone to act hastily in the matter and chose to investigate the case before submitting these names to the Senate. After some deliberation the names of Whicher and Leffler were stricken out, and those of Mason and Brown substituted in their places. In this condition the nominations went to the Senate, where at the request of Augustus Caesar Dodge, at that time a delegate to Congress, they remained without consideration until Judge Williams could be heard from.[78]

In the meanwhile petitions favorable to the reappointment of Judge Williams, and signed by many of the voters of the Second Judicial District were sent to the President. Upon the receipt of these petitions, it appears that President Tyler became convinced that the only objection to the reappointment of Judge Williams was based upon purely partisan grounds, if indeed not upon fictitious and trumped-up charges. He, thereupon, withdrew the nominations from the Senate and again remodeled them, by placing Mason

[77] *Iowa City Standard,* September 28, 1842.

[78] *Iowa City Standard,* September 28, 1842.

as Chief Justice, and Judge Wilson and Judge Williams as Associate Justices. In this form the nominations were ratified by the Senate, and the old Judges thereby re-appointed for a term of four years.

Interesting controversies arose between Whigs and Democrats relative to this delay and to the final outcome of this appointment. One of the leading newspapers of the Territory in attacking the President makes use of the following language:

> Now, we inquire, whose fault is it that we were left without Judges—who is culpable, in that the interests of the people were sacrificed and their safety in a measure jeoparded? Is not the President the man who should be held responsible?—What right, in strict justice, had he to put the nominations in his pocket—and that, too, at a time when the commissions of the Judges were on the point of expiring—and spend weeks in making inquiries into the politics of the parties?[79]

Another of the Territorial papers in defending the attitude of the President said:

> The President could not have acted differently in the matter from what he did, and have acted *justly* and *consistently*. So soon as he was satisfied that the charges made were false, and that the purported proceedings of the Bloomington meeting were a *forgery*, he promptly, and with an independence creditable to him, re-appointed our Judges with the least possible delay compatible with justice, as well to the people of the Territory, as to the judges, who had for the four previous years discharged the duties of their stations to the almost entire satisfaction of those with whom they acted.[80]

While President Tyler was investigating the record of

[79] *Iowa City Standard,* September 28, 1842.

[80] *Iowa Capital Reporter* (Iowa City), October 8, 1842.

the various candidates for the appointment, Judge Williams was himself busily engaged in promoting his own candidacy. For while Judge Mason had a farm to which he could retire, and Judge Wilson had a good law practice, Judge Williams had neither and was, therefore, anxious for a reappointment. He not only used his influence in securing a petition, urging the President to reappoint him, but he made a trip from his home at Muscatine to the national capitol, in furtherance of this cause.

An interesting story is told of this journey. It was made overland and for the most part by stage. Upon reaching Wheeling, the Judge fell in company with a handsome lady. He, being a gallant man and quite at ease in the presence of ladies, found no difficulty in making himself agreeable. The two were traveling companions all the way to Baltimore. As they pursued their journey Mr. Williams related to the lady the nature of his business at Washington, but strangely enough he did not learn his companion's name or place of residence. When he got to Washington, and had sufficiently recovered from the journey, he presented himself to the President. He was received very cordially. "What can I do for you, Judge Williams?" said the President. The Judge suggested as gracefully as he could that he had come seeking the renewal of his commission. The President replied that the matter had already been fixed. Judge Williams was then ushered into the parlor where he met the lady who had been his traveling companion—the President's wife. She greeted him very cordially and said, "I spoke to my husband about you and he said you should have the appointment".[81] Judge Williams, feeling under obligation to the other members of the court, Judge Mason and Judge Wilson, spoke to the President about

[81] *Iowa Historical Lectures*, 1894, pp. 75, 76.

their reappointment, and found that their commissions too would be renewed. Thus the long contest for the reappointment of Judges was settled in a manner quite satisfactory to the members of the court, and it appears in a manner quite generally acceptable to a majority of the people of the Territory.

The editor of one of the leading Territorial papers commenting upon the reappointment a few days later used the following language:

> We have at length the gratifying intelligence to communicate to our readers that Judges have been appointed for our Territory by the authorities at Washington and that the wheels of our judicial system, which have been at a standstill for some month or two past may be expected therefore to be set in motion again ere long . . . .
>
> But the mere appointments of the Judges is not the only pleasing information connected with this matter which we are enabled to convey to our readers. We have the further good news to tell them, that the old Judges are all reinstated in their places as they stood prior to the 4th, ultimo, towit: Judge Mason as Chief Justice of the Territory, and Judges Williams, and Wilson, as associates.
>
> This result will, we are sure, be highly gratifying to a very large majority of the people of the Territory, and should be so, we think, to every individual in it; for surely none will deny that the duties of their stations have been discharged by those gentlemen with much ability, and with the most exemplary fidelity. . . .
>
> To President Tyler, however we may have differed hitherto, or may differ with him hereafter, upon other subjects, our thanks in common with those of the people of Iowa, are due for his action in this matter of the appointment of Judges. He might have given us those here at home who would have been greatly less acceptable; or he might have sent those among us from abroad whose presence in the Territory would have been a pollution to it; instead of doing either of which, he restored to us as Judges

those whom we all know to be worthy, and by whom all must feel assured that justice will be dispensed between man and man, free from fear, favor, or affection.[82]

LATER DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT

The Judges having been reappointed for the ensuing four years, the judiciary was ready to resume its duties. And since there was no session of the Supreme Court in 1842, there was an unusually large amount of business awaiting the court when it convened in January, 1843. None of the suits were perhaps of primary importance, as involving great legal questions, but many of them are of much interest, because of the men connected with them, and as an indication of the methods of court procedure. A typical case is that of United States *v.* Cropper,[83] a suit arising in Johnson County and presenting the question as to the duties of the board of commissioners respecting the delivery of lists of grand jurors to the Clerk of the District Court.

It was held that it is the duty of the commissioners to deliver to the Clerk of the Court attested copies of the lists of grand jurors, thirty days previous to the beginning of the term. The attorney for the plaintiff in this case was Ralph P. Lowe, a distinguished and successful lawyer of the Territory, and afterwards Governor of the State. His competitor, the attorney for the defendant, was W. G. Woodward, a very able lawyer, a son of the defendant in the celebrated case of Dartmouth College *v.* Woodward, and later one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State. Aside from the interest in the men involved in the case, this decision is worthy of notice because of its dissenting opinion. The majority opinion was rendered by

[82] *Iowa Capital Reporter* (Iowa City), August 20, 1842.

[83] 1 Morris 190.

Judge Wilson, Judge Williams concurring, while a vigorous and somewhat extended dissenting opinion was delivered by Judge Mason.

It is a notable fact that there were during the Territorial period a number of cases in which a dissenting opinion was rendered. Indeed it is believed that the organization of the courts was such as to foster a disagreement among the Judges. This was due to the fact that one of the Judges of the Supreme Court presided over each of the three district courts. It was necessary, therefore, in the higher court for a judge to pass upon his own ruling in the lower court. This defect of organization was perhaps unavoidable, yet it was a serious defect, for it is very difficult for any man, however thoroughly judicial and impartial he may be, to avoid, in the appeal of a case, a bias arising from his own ruling in the court below. There is no intimation that the ruling in this case was a result of a biased opinion, indeed there is evidence to the contrary, for while the dissenting opinion was rendered by Judge Mason, the original hearing of the case was before Judge Williams. Yet one can not but recognize the defect in the organization of the court at this point.

The term of court which convened in January, 1844, was not unlike that of the previous term. One of the most interesting cases was that of Waw-kon-chaw-neek-kaw *v.* The United States: a case in which an Indian was convicted of the murder of one Moses Tegarden. The case arose in the District Court of Dubuque. An appeal was taken on the ground that the record did not show that the jury were properly and lawfully sworn. The court held that such an objection could not be sustained after the case had gone to trial and a verdict had been rendered. Chief Justice Mason in rendering the decision said:

> The proceedings below will be presumed to have been correct, unless the contrary is shown by the plaintiff in error. . . . It would be subversive of justice to allow a party to remain silent in relation to matters of this nature, until after a final hearing, and then obtain a re-hearing of the case and put the public to the trouble and expense of a new trial, merely because a clerk of the District Court omitted a caption to his transcript.[84]

In January, 1845, the seventh term of the Supreme Court convened with a docket of ninety-eight cases.[85] Many of these were, however, stricken from the docket, while others were continued until the next term of court, so that the entire list of cases adjudicated was reduced to forty. The first case reported during this session—Hughell *v.* Wilson[86]—was one involving the validity of a statute relative to public lands. On January 25, 1839, the legislature had passed an act providing that the claimant of public lands, who had marked out and designated his claim, but had not enclosed it with a fence, could maintain an action of trespass upon said claim. The court held that this statute was valid and that one cutting trees upon such a claim was subject to a fine. The amount of money involved in this case was very small, but the principle under consideration was one of vast importance to the people of the newly settled country.

Another case, arising during this term of the court, and one presenting an important question was that of Hight and Hight *v.* The United States.[87] George W. Hight and George V. Hight had been indicted upon the charge of murder, and subsequently brought action on a writ of habeas corpus for the purpose of being admitted to bail.

[84] 1 Morris 335.

[85] *Iowa Capital Reporter* (Iowa City) January 11, 1845.

[86] 1 Morris 383.

[87] 1 Morris 407.

It was contended for them that the evidence against them before the grand jury was so slight that they were entitled to be discharged on bail. The court refused to bail the prisoners, whereupon the case was appealed to the Supreme Court.

Judge Mason in delivering the opinion said substantially that while an indictment furnishes no presumption of guilt against a prisoner when he is upon his trial, it furnishes the strongest presumption of his guilt in all proceedings between the indictment and the trial. Although it is within the power of the court to grant bail, the prisoner can not in capital offences demand bail as his natural right. The court is not required to investigate the evidence upon which the indictment is found. The finding of the grand jury is conclusive as against the prisoner, although it may have been found on slight evidence.

The following term of court, in 1846, was of unusual importance because of the cases relative to the "Half-breed" settlements. The principal case in this connection was Webster *v.* Reid,[88] a case involving the title to extensive tracts of land in Lee County. This suit was full of interest not only to the immediate parties, but to the community as a whole, indeed some of the questions involved were many times before the courts, and were not finally settled until after Iowa had become a State. The case arose as a result of the intermingling of the whites with the Indians. In the early days the settlers were for the most part young men, having no families. Many of these settlers, in coming in contact with the Sac and Fox Indians, had married Indian women and had become the fathers of a generation of children commonly known as the "Half-breeds". In the treaty of 1824 by which the Indians ceded large tracts of

[88] 1 Morris 467.

land to the United States, a reservation was made for the benefit of these half-breeds. The stipulation in the treaty was as follows:

> It being understood that the small tract of land lying between the rivers Desmoines and the Mississippi, and the section of the above line between the Mississippi and Desmoines . . . . is intended for the use of the half breeds belonging to the Sac and Fox nations, they holding it, however, by the same title and in the same manner that other Indian titles are held.[89]

On the 30th of June, 1834, Congress passed an act relinquishing all right of the United States in the Half-breed Tract and giving "power to said half breeds to transfer their portions thereof by sale, devise or descent, according to the laws of the State of Missouri."[90] Neither the treaty nor the act of Congress designated the persons owning the land within the reserve.

On the 16th of January, 1838, the Territorial legislature, to ascertain who were the real owners of the tract, and to bring about a partition of the lands among the real owners, passed an act providing for the appointment of three commissioners, who should hold their sessions at the town of Montrose, receive and record the evidence of all claimants of any interest in the lands; and who were to report to the District Court for Lee County the result of their investigation and the evidence received by them. This act also provided that the commissioners should receive $6.00 per day each, for their services, which was to be paid by a sale of such portions of the land as might be necessary to pay the same, said sale to be made on the order of the District Court. Under the provisions of this act commissioners

[89] 1 Morris 468.

[90] 1 Morris 469.

were appointed, two of whom, Edward Johnston and David Brigham, actually served for nearly a year, indeed until January 25, 1839, at which time the Territorial legislature repealed the act by which they had been authorized to work. No sale of land had been made at that time to defray the expenses of said commissioners. To meet this contingency the act of January 25, 1839, provided that the commissioners should bring action in the District Court of Lee County against the owners of said half-breed lands. It is important to note in this connection that this act further provided that the trial of said suit or suits, should be before the court and not before a jury,[91] and that "The words 'owners of the half breed lands lying in Lee county,' shall be a sufficient designation and specification of the defendants in said suits".[92]

Under this law actions were brought by the commissioners, and as a result two judgments were executed, one in favor of Edward Johnston for $1290, the other in favor of David Brigham for $818. To satisfy these judgments the sheriff sold the land on January 1, 1842. Hugh T. Reid bought the entire tract of 119,000 acres for $2884.66.[93] The question presented was whether Reid secured a good title. The court held the title valid, notwithstanding the circumstances under which it was obtained. Some years later, however, the same question arose in the Supreme Court of the State, in the case of Reid *v.* Wright, and here Reid's title was held to be invalid. The court based its decision in this case, in part, upon the fact that the Territorial legislature had provided that cases relative to the Half-

[91] 1 Morris 469, 470.

[92] 1 Morris 469, 470.

[93] 1 Morris 470.

breed Tract should be decided by a court and not by a jury. The judge said:

> This is not according to the law of the land. . . . It infringes the clause of the ordinance of 1787, which guaranties judicial proceedings, according to the course of the common law, and violates that clause of the ordinance which declares that no man shall be deprived of his liberty or property but by the judgment of his peers and the law of the land; and consequently it is utterly void.[94]

Again the Judge says:

> In the case before us, the want of jurisdiction over the parties appears upon the face of the proceedings. Suit is brought and judgments entered against "*owners*" of certain lands.
>
> Parties cannot be brought into court in this manner, and judgments cannot be so rendered.[95]

Other points involved in the case make it a long and complicated one. It will be sufficient to note in this connection that the case finally went to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the holding of the State court was affirmed, thus overruling the decision of the Territorial Judges.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD STATEHOOD: ELECTION OF JUDGES

As early as 1839 the agitation for statehood had begun in the Territory of Iowa. The pioneers accustomed to self-rule in other States had brought with them the desire for self government in the land of their adoption. Like the people of other Territories they looked forward to the time when they could lay aside the Territorial government and enter into full statehood. The movement was not, however, one of rapid and unprecedented change, but rather one of

[94] 2 G. Greene 29, 30.

[95] 2 G. Greene 38.

slow and steady growth. Indeed it was not until after five years of agitation, that, in August, 1844, delegates to the first constitutional convention were elected by the people of the Territory. This convention met on Monday, October 7, 1844, in the Old Capitol Building at Iowa City, and there began the work of framing a constitution to be submitted to the people for their ratification or rejection. One of the questions with which the convention was confronted was with reference to the reorganization of the judiciary.[96]

On the third day of the convention eleven standing committees were appointed, one of which was the Committee on the Judiciary Department. The members of this committee were Messrs. Jonathan C. Hall, James Grant, James Clarke, Stephen Hempstead, Stephen B. Shelleday, Jonathan E. Fletcher, and Andrew W. Campbell.[97] Within a few days this committee gave its report, recommending that "the Judges of the Supreme Court and District Court shall be elected by the joint vote of the Senate and House of Representatives and hold their offices for six years".[98] There was, however, a minority report which proposed that all of the judges be elected by the people of the State. It is apparent from the debates of the convention that little consideration was given to the executive appointment of judges. The question rather was: Shall the judges be elected by the people or shall they be chosen by the General Assembly? Stephen Hempstead who was in favor of direct election said "that in a Republican or Democratic government, the people were sovereign, and all power resided in them." He contended, moreover, that when the legislature

96 Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, pp. 175, 176.

97 Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, p. 9; *Journal of the Convention of 1844*, pp. 3,

98 Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, p. 208.

or the Senate and Governor appointed officers, they acted as proxies of the people; and that if the people were capable of electing these proxies, they were capable of electing the officers themselves.[99]

Gideon S. Bailey from Van Buren County, in reply to the argument of Mr. Hempstead, said he had no doubt of the capacity of the people to elect their judges; but he thought there was real danger of judges becoming corrupt through political influences. He argued that they were "liable to form partialities and prejudices in the canvass, that would operate on the bench." He admitted that the people were sovereign and had power to elect judges as well as the Governor, but he was in favor of the legislative appointments. In further support of this plan he argued that the people were not acquainted with persons proper to fill the office of judge.[100]

After much discussion on the floor of the convention a compromise was reached, in which it was agreed that the judges of the Supreme Court should be named by the General Assembly; and the judges of the district court should be elected by the people. The provision as embodied in the constitution was in the following language:

> The District Court shall consist of a Judge, who shall reside in the district assigned him by law, be elected by the qualified voters thereof, and hold his office for the term of four years, until his successor is elected and qualified. . . .
>
> The Judges of the Supreme Court shall be elected by joint vote of the General Assembly, and shall hold their offices for the term of four years, and until their successors are elected and qualified.[101]

[99] Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, p. 103.

[100] Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, pp. 105, 106.

[101] Constitution of Iowa, 1844, Art. VI, Secs. 4, 5.

From these provisions it will be observed that there was not only a change in the manner of selecting judges, but that there was a complete reorganization of the judicial system. The judges of the district court in the Territory were members of the Supreme Court, whereas the proposed constitution provided for separate judges for the various courts. This change was intended to obviate the difficulty of a judge on the supreme bench being biased by a decision which he had rendered in the same case in the lower court.

On Friday morning, November the first, after a session of twenty-six days the convention adjourned. The questions which had been discussed on the floor of the convention were now taken up by the press, public speakers, and the public as a whole. The subject of the election of judges and the reorganization of the judiciary received its share of attention. In commenting upon the proposed constitution, *The Iowa Capitol Reporter* said: "the organization of the Courts meets our entire approbation." And concluded—"we are determined to give it our decided support, and wish to see its unanimous adoption by the people."[102]

The Dubuque *Transcript* on the other hand made particular objection to the election of judges by the people. It considered this provision alone sufficient to condemn the entire constitution.[103]

The Burlington *Hawk-Eye* in speaking of the constitution, said: "With many exceedingly good points, it has others so radically wrong both in principle and operation, that like the scorbutic taint in the human system, it infects and vitiates the whole scope of its provisions." It set its "face

102 Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, pp. 210, 211.

103 Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, p. 211.

uncompromisingly against the whole construction of the Judiciary," including the popular election of judges.[104]

From these and numerous other comments it is apparent that the constitution was severely criticized because it provided for the election of judges of the inferior courts by the people. To the minds of many the office of judge was too sacred to be dragged into partisan politics. Judges, they thought, ought not to be directly responsible to the people. There were of course other objections to the proposed constitution, some of which were even more significant than that relative to the courts. The question of proposed boundaries, for instance, was of primary importance. Yet the question of the reorganization of the judiciary formed one of the interesting problems, and must be considered as one of the objections which led to a defeat of the constitution. Suffice it to say that this constitution was twice submitted to the people—once in 1844 and again in 1845—and was each time rejected.

The rejection of this constitution did not, however, permanently check the movement toward statehood. An act of the Territorial legislature approved on January 17, 1846, provided for the election of delegates to another constitutional convention, to meet in Iowa City the following May.[105] The convention convened on the morning of May 4th, and in the afternoon of the same day six standing committees—including the Committee on the Judicial Department—were appointed.

The question of election of judges was soon again brought forward and discussed as in the former convention. Mr. George W. Bowie from Des Moines County, in speaking upon this subject admitted that the people were

[104] Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, pp. 212, 213.

[105] Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, p. 289.

competent to choose judges but opposed the plan on the ground that men eminently fitted to become judges would shrink from the public scrutiny and thus the best men would be eliminated from the contest.[106]

Mr. Samuel A. Bissel from Cedar County, in supporting the opposite view, contended that public opinion was the only true test of the character of a public man, and that public opinion could be determined only at the ballot box.[107]

Thus the subject was argued pro and con as in the convention of 1844, and with essentially the same result. The lapse of two years had served to impress upon the minds of the legislators the merits of the proposed reorganization. The idea of an elective judiciary had come to stay. The new constitution, therefore, like that of 1844, embodied a clause providing for a separation of the Supreme and District Judges, the former to be chosen "by joint vote of both branches of the General Assembly", the latter to be "elected by the qualified voters of the district".[108] Thus the question so vigorously debated in 1844 was again presented to the people for their adoption or rejection. The debates and press comments were not unlike those of the previous contest, and the arguments presented were essentially the same.

Wm. Penn Clarke in an address to the people, which appeared in one of the Territorial papers, said:

> I am opposed to the adoption of the constitution . . . . because it proposes an experiment with our judiciary system. An *elective* judiciary is one of the vagaries which has grown up out of the party strife of the country, and is calculated to disrobe our Courts

106 Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, p. 322.

107 Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, pp. 323-325.

108 Constitution of Iowa, 1846, Art. VI., Secs. 3, 4.

of Justice of their sacred character and impair the confidence the people ought to, and do entertain in the integrity of our judges. It is an experiment which has been tried in but a single State of this Union, Mississippi; and it is a singular fact, as undeniable as it is singular, that in this State, life and property are less secure than in any other, and its public credit is lost beyond redemption.[109]

Notwithstanding these and many other arguments, the proposed constitution was received favorably by a majority of the people. And by its adoption, the Commonwealth which for the past eight years had existed as a Territory now entered the fullness of statehood. And the judiciary, which had its beginning in the improvised and unorganized courts, came to assume the position of State courts, with the dignity, decorum and efficiency comparable to that maintained in other State governments.

JACOB A. SWISHER

[109] Address of Wm. Penn Clarke in Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, p. 355.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

A History of Minnesota. Volume I. By William Watts Folwell. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1921. Pp. 553. Plates, maps. This first volume of a series of four comprising *A History of Minnesota* gives assurance of a solid and scholarly contribution to the body of printed material on the history of the States of the Upper Mississippi Valley. Mr. Folwell's initial volume treats of the events down to 1857—the end of the Territorial period. By reason of its geographical position Minnesota was less closely related to the early migration movement than its neighbors and did not develop until later than Wisconsin and Iowa. However, lying at the head of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes, it was the scene of extensive and interesting French exploration, and with this series of adventures the author begins his recital. The expeditions are adequately sketched and there is evidence of a wide examination of sources as well as secondary accounts. One is grateful for his restraint with regard to Radisson, and hence more ready to grant something in the way of a kindly attitude toward Hennepin.

The author falls into error, however, in his disposition of the party which accompanied La Salle on his last trip. On page 35 he remarks that a small remnant of the adventurers, after the murder of La Salle, found their way, with incredible hardship, to Fort St. Louis on the Illinois, and he adds: "Most of them perished on the way by fever, by drowning, or by the attacks of serpents or alligators." As a matter of fact, only seven of the thirteen who were left made any effort to reach Fort St. Louis. One of these was drowned, one stopped at Couture's post at the mouth of the Arkansas, and the remaining five reached Fort St. Louis in safety. Of the six others, whose deeds did not make a return to civilization altogether safe, three were killed in quarrels and one, perhaps two, drifted down into the Spanish possessions and finally were taken to Spain.

Following the story of the French in Minnesota, the author takes up the British domination, the acquisition and exploration of "Minnesota West" by the Americans, and the coming of white settlers. Considerable space is naturally given to the Indian tribes, the negotiation of treaties, the operations of the traders, and the work of the early Indian missions. He devotes a chapter to the early efforts in the direction of railroads, and traces the course of politics, under the influence of Brown, Sibley, Rice, and others, down through the Territorial period to the point where the State was ready to enter the Union.

The last chapter discusses the Fort Snelling Reservation. An appendix of thirteen sections and an index close the volume. Altogether, the work is a credit to both the author and the Minnesota Historical Society, and the remaining volumes will be awaited with interest.

A History of California: The Spanish Period. By Charles E. Chapman. New York: Macmillan Co. 1921. Pp. 527. Plates, maps. No section of the United States has a more romantic and picturesque history than the State of California. Here Russia, England, Spain, Mexico, and the United States were rivals, and China and Japan touched remotely the life of the western continent. Here, too, were systematic attempts to Christianize and civilize the Indians, with the missions as the centers of activities.

This volume presents many phases of California history during the period of Spanish occupation ending in 1847 with the coming of the Americans. The treatment of the Indians by the civil authorities and the priests and friars, the organization of the government under the Spanish and Mexican governors, and life in the missions, presidios, pueblos, and ranches are among the subjects described by the author, and a wonderfully interesting story it makes. A bibliography of California history is included as an appendix and an index is provided.

A History of the United States, Volume V. By Edward Channing. New York: Macmillan Co. 1921. Pp. 623. Maps. This volume covers the period in United States history from 1815 to

1848 and thus chronicles the rise of the West to a place of importance. Chapters on the labor movement, abolition, social readjustments, religion, education, and literature present the life of the people during this formative period. The westward movement, western lands and settlements, and the annexation of Texas, California, and Oregon tell of the extension of the United States to the Pacific coast and the advance of the pioneer, although in this recital the point of view is constantly that of one whose sympathies lie east of the Alleghanies. Like the other volumes of this work, the book is interesting, and is provided with footnotes, a bibliography, and an index.

How America Went to War, by Benedict Crowell and Robert Forrest Wilson, is the title of a series of six volumes published by the Yale University Press. The first volume in the series is *The Giant Hand,* giving an account of the part of the government in the production of war supplies. Two volumes entitled *The Road to France* tell the story of the transportation of troops and military supplies for the American Expeditionary Forces, while two others bear the caption *The Armies of Industry* and present an account of the manufacture of munitions and military supplies in the United States. The sixth volume is entitled *Demobilization* and tells the story of the return of the American army, its demobilization, and the disposal of supplies and real estate acquired for war purposes. The last chapter, "The Balance Sheet", gives a summary of the cost of the war in human lives and in money. Numerous plates and maps add to the interest of the volumes which are very readable in spite of the technical nature of much of the material. The location of specific information is facilitated by an index.

The Westover Journal of John A. Selden, Esqr., 1858-1862, edited by John Spencer Bassett, is published in the *Smith College Studies in History,* July, 1921.

The Jesuits, 1534-1921; A History of the Society of Jesus from Its Foundation to the Present Time is the work of Thomas J. Campbell.

The Scenery of North America, by James Bryce, is one of three articles in *The National Geographic Magazine* for April.

The "Blond" Eskimos, by Diamond Jenness, and *The Ceremonial Societies of the Quileute Indians,* by Leo J. Frachtenberg, are two papers in the *American Anthropologist* for July-September, 1921.

International Trade Under Depreciated Paper: The United States, 1862-79, by F. D. Graham, and *Enforced Par Remittance Under the Federal Reserve System,* by Colston E. Warne, are two papers in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* for February.

Frank T. Stockton is the author of a monograph on *The International Molders Union of North America* which appears as a recent number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.*

Witchcraft in Massachusetts, by Winfield S. Nevins, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton—"Sam Slick"—The Father of the American School of Humor,* by Effie May Ross, and *The Fries Rebellion,* by Frank M. Eastman, are three of the articles in the January number of *Americana.*

The March number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* contains three groups of articles and papers: *Russia Today, The Determination of Wage Rates,* and *The American Intervention in Haiti and the Dominican Republic.*

The *Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* contains the report of the Bureau for the year ending on June 30, 1915, and an extended paper on *The Osage Tribe; Rite of the Chiefs; Sayings of the Ancient Men,* by Francis La Flesche. These Indians formerly lived in Missouri.

The Place of Woodrow Wilson in American Politics—An Estimate, by Edward J. Woodhouse, *Racial Feeling in Negro Poetry,* by Newman I. White, and *Pro-Slavery Propaganda in American Fiction of the Fifties,* by Jeannette Reid Tandy, are three articles of historical interest in the January number of *The South Atlantic Quarterly.*

Folk-Lore from Aiken, S. C., by Elsie Clews Parsons, *Riddles and Ring Games from Raleigh, N. C.*, by Susan Dix Spenney, and *Games of Danville, Va.*, by Caddie S. Isham, are three articles in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* for January-March, 1921.

The American Political Science Review for February contains the following papers: *The Development of Democracy on the American Continent*, by L. S. Rowe; *Montesquieu and De Tocqueville and Corporative Individualism*, by Wm. Henry George; *Constitutional Law in 1920-21*, by Edward S. Corwin; and *American Government and Politics, by Lindsay Rogers.* Walter F. Dodd writes *Legislative Notes and Reviews.*

The League's Disarmament Activities—and the Washington Conference, by Alden H. Abbott, is one of several articles in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March. As part two of *State History*, Dixon Ryan Fox discusses the seven volumes in the *Centennial History of Illinois.*

The League of Nations at Work, by Erik M. Eriksson is one of the papers in the January issue of *The Historical Outlook.* The March number contains *The St. Louis Meeting of the American Historical Association*, by Daniel C. Knowlton.

What Can a Man Afford, two essays by Paul and Dorothy Douglas and Carl S. Joslyn, are published in the supplement to *The American Economic Review* for December, 1921. These papers relate to community and individual budgets. Two of the papers in the March issue are: *The State of Our National Finances*, by Edwin R. A. Seligman, and *The Revenue Act of 1921*, by Roy G. Blakey.

The three articles in *The American Historical Review* for January are the following: *Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine*, by Dexter Perkins; *Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign as Reported by an American Diplomat*, by H. Nelson Gay; and *Webster's Seventh of March Speech and the Secession Movement, 1850*, by Herbert D. Foster. Under the head of *Documents* there is a

letter describing the city of Washington in 1834, written by Robert C. Caldwell, and contributed by George M. Whicher.

A Pioneer Trek from Ohio to Wisconsin, from a journal kept by Sarah Foote on a journey by ox-team from Wellington, Ohio, to Winnebago County, Wisconsin, in April and May, 1846, *A Day in Washington's Country,* by Joseph G. Butler, Jr., *The Mayflower Spirit,* by L. Bradford Prince, *Colorado's First Schools,* by Abner R. Brown, and a fourth installment of *A History of Banks and Banking and of Banks and Banking in the City of New York,* by W. Harrison Bayles and Frank Allaben, are articles in *The Journal of American History* for January-March, 1921. In the issue for April-June are the following papers: *General Enoch Poor,* by Henry M. Baker; *Our Indians,* a poem by Mrs. N. M. Davol; a continuation of Abner R. Brown's *Reminiscences of Colorado's First Schools;* and a fifth installment of *A History of Banks and Banking and of Banks and Banking in the City of New York,* by W. Harrison Bayles and Frank Allaben. *A History of Fort Saint Joseph, Michigan,* by Daniel McCoy, *The Life of Mary Ball,* by Elizabeth Gadsby, a third installment of *Reminiscences of Colorado's First Schools,* by Abner R. Brown, and a continuation of *A History of Banks and Banking and of Banks and Banking in the City of New York,* by W. Harrison Bayles and Frank Allaben, are four papers in the number for July-September, 1921.

WESTERN AMERICANA

My First Meeting With Joseph Smith, by U. W. Greene, is one of the papers in the April issue of *Autumn Leaves.*

Indian Policy and Westward Expansion, a monograph by James C. Malin, has recently been published by the University of Kansas.

English Government Finance, 1485-1558, a monograph by Frederick C. Dietz, has been published as a number of the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* for September, 1920.

Volume twelve of the *University of California Publications in History* is a *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851,* by Mary Floyd Williams.

The Washington Conference, by Chester H. Rowell, *The Isolation Plan,* by David Starr Jordan, and *The Labor Controversy of 1921,* by Stuart Daggett, are three papers on current topics in the *University of California Chronicle* for January.

The Romance of Oklahoma is the title of an attractive volume recently issued by the Oklahoma Authors' Club. The book is divided into seven chapters, each containing one or more sketches of life in Oklahoma.

A History of the 90th Division, by George Wythe, division historian, is one of the contributions to World War history. The men of this division came chiefly from Texas and Oklahoma.

The Detroit Public Library began, in January, 1922, the publication of a monthly pamphlet entitled *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet.* The first number contains an account of the life of Henry R. Schoolcraft. The February issue has similar biographical material relating to Colonel John Francis Hamtramck. In the March number is the story of Fort Lernoult.

Recent Excavations at Hawikuh, by F. W. Hodge, is an article in *El Palacio* for January 1, 1922. In the next issue Lansing B. Bloom writes of *The West Jemez Culture Area.* In the number for March 1st, R. E. Twitchell has an extended paper on *Pueblo Indian Land Tenures in New Mexico and Arizona. The Spirit of the Dead,* by Warren E. Rollins and *Beginnings of Representative Government in New Mexico,* by Lansing B. Bloom are two papers in the number for March 15th.

Walter B. Stevens on the Mormon War and After, a continuation of *The High Council,* by Roy L. Roberts, and a second installment of *James W. Gillen,* by H. O. Smith, are the three articles in the *Journal of History* for October, 1921. *City Planning,* by Henry C. Smith, *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian,* by Solomon J. Salisbury, *The Journal of Ethan Barrows*—a story of the Mormon exodus, and a continuation of the report of the High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, by Roy L. Roberts, are the four contributions to the issue for Janu-

ary. In the number for April there is an autobiography by John J. Cornish, an article on *The Puritan Movement as a Preparation for the Restoration of the Gospel,* by H. S. Salisbury, and continuations of *The Journal of Ethan Barrows* and the report of the High Council.

IOWANA

The *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin* for February contains the *Improvement Program Planned and Proposed for Iowa Primary Road System in 1922.*

Physicians who Located in Iowa in the Period between 1850 and 1860, by D. S. Fairchild, is a paper of historical interest in the January and March issues of *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society.*

The *Philological Quarterly* is a new magazine begun by representatives of the departments of modern languages at the State University of Iowa. The first number appeared in January, 1922.

The two papers in the January issue of the *Iowa Law Bulletin* are: *Landowner's Duty to Strangers on His Premises—As Developed in the Iowa Decisions,* by Herbert F. Goodrich, and *Regular Entries, Books of Account, and the Iowa Statutes,* by Frederic M. Miller.

The Fellows Family, a volume of genealogy and reminiscences by Mrs. Mary Fellows Cavanagh, has recently been published. Mrs. Cavanagh is a sister of the late Stephen H. Fellows and the volume, though primarily a family narrative, gives much information concerning living conditions and education in early Iowa.

How Twenty-one and Twenty-nine Have Been Made Halves of Fifty in Iowa, by William H. Fleming, *A Farmers' Wives' Society in Pioneer Days,* by Mary D. Taylor; *Transportation in Iowa Before the Railroads,* by E. R. Harlan, *Tilghman A. Howard,* by William H. Fleming; *Iowa East and West,* by D. C. Mott, *An Unusual Type of Grooved Stone Axe,* by Charles Reuben Keyes, and *Pash A Ba Ho,* by Mrs. A. M. Mitchell, reprinted from Gregg's

Dollar Monthly and Old Settlers' Memorial, are the papers and articles in the *Annals of Iowa* for July, 1921.

Military Training at Iowa, by Morton C. Mumma, *Recent Developments in the Engineering College,* by Frederick G. Higbee, and *Pebbles and History,* by Chester K. Wentworth, are three articles in *The Iowa Alumnus* for December, 1921. The January number contains a brief biographical sketch of Oscar R. Coast, an Iowa artist, *9-Y-A,* a story of radio telegraphy, by Arthur H. Ford, and *A New Greenhouse,* by Clifford H. Farr. The February issue is the Diamond Jubilee number and contains a large number of short papers relating to the history of the State University. Among these are the following: *At the Beginning,* by Ruth A. Gallaher; *Turning the First Quarter,* by Milton Remley; *The Half-Century* Mark, by Forest C. Ensign; *At the Diamond Jubilee,* by Cloyce K. Huston; *Lyrics from "In the Land of the Aiouwas",* by Edwin Ford Piper; *Spirit of Education in Pioneer Days,* by Cyrenus Cole; *Iowa's Presidents,* by John C. Parish; *An Experiment in Higher Education,* by Clarence Ray Aurner; *Portrait Sketches of Five Great Teachers,* by Charles C. Nutting; *Looking at Ourselves,* by C. H. Weller; *From the Old Files,* by Grace P. Smith; *Playing the Game,* by Michael L. McKinley; and *Fifty Years of Athletics,* by Harold Chamberlin. In the March issue are a number of articles on the College of Medicine: *A Decade of Progress,* by William R. Boyd; *Medical Memories,* by Charles S. Chase; and *Wards of a Beneficent State,* by Harold Chamberlin.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Aldrich, Bess Streeter,

Mother Gets Back on the Job (The American Magazine, February, 1922).

Nell Cutter's White Elephants (The American Magazine, April, 1922).

The Woman Nell Cutter Was Afraid of (The American Magazine, January, 1922).

Aurner, Clarence Ray,

An Experiment in Higher Education (The Iowa Alumnus, February, 1922).

Baldwin, W. W.,

Corporate History of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company and Affiliated Companies. Published by the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Co. 1921.

Railroad Land Grants. Published by the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Co.

Benjamin, Gilbert G., (Joint author)

Modern European Civilization. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1922.

Blake, W. R.,

A Small Town Mayor in the Legislature (American Municipalities, January, 1922).

Boyd, William R.,

A Decade of Progress (The Iowa Alumnus, March, 1922).

Brant, Irving,

To John Keats (The Midland, February, 1922).

Brown, Charles Reynolds,

Lincoln the Greatest Man of the Nineteenth Century. New York: Macmillan Co. 1922.

Buchanan, R. E.,

Graduate and Research Engineering (The Iowa Engineer, February, 1922).

Butterworth, Julian Edward,

Problems in State High School Finance. New York : World Book Co. 1922.

Carr, D. E.,

The Municipal Budget (American Municipalities, January, 1922).

Report of Committee on Paving (American Municipalities, March, 1922).

Carver, George,
The Singer (The Midland, March, 1922).
"Three Soldiers" : A Review (The Midland, January, 1922).

Carver, Thomas Nixon,
The Equilibrium Wage (The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1922).

Castleman, R. A., Jr., (Joint author)
Magnetic Rotary Dispersion in Transparent Liquid (The Astrophysical Journal, July, 1921).

Chamberlin, Harold,
Fifty Years of Athletics (The Iowa Alumnus, February, 1922).
Wards of a Beneficent State (The Iowa Alumnus, March, 1922).

Chaney, Ralph W.,
A Fossil Flora from the Puente Formation of the Monterey Group (American Journal of Science, August, 1921).

Chase, Charles S.,
Medical Memories (The Iowa Alumnus, March, 1922).

Cole, Cyrenus,
Spirit of Education in Pioneer Days (The Iowa Alumnus February, 1922).

Colegrove, Kenneth,
American Citizens and Their Government. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1921.

Colloton, Cecile M., (Joint author)
The Constancy of the Stanford Binet I. G. Test (Journal o Educational Psychology, January, 1922).

Cowles, H. W.,
Financing the City (American Municipalities, Februar 1922).

Crawford, Nelson Antrim,
The Fragilities (poems) (Poetry, October, 1921).
My Furrow (The Midland, December, 1921).

Our Grocery-Newspaper System of Teaching Writing (The English Journal, December, 1921).

Weavers with Words. Manhattan, Kansas: Kansas State Agricultural Press. 1922.

Crowley, Lillian Hall,

The Men-Folks Entertain (Social Progress, March, 1922).

Crum, R. W.,

Using Iowa Gravel in Concrete (The Iowa Engineer, January, 1922).

Davis, Bradley N.,

The Retail Store (Journal of Business, February, 1922).

Devine, Edward T.,

The Hills of Habersham (The Survey, February 18, 1922).

Joint Finance (The Survey, January, 1922).

Downey, E. H.,

American Compensation Laws (The American Labor Legislation Review, March, 1922).

Dunlap, John H.,

Re-organization of Engineers in Iowa (The Transit, January, 1922).

Eichinger, J. W.,

Grade and Drain Roads 1922 Program (The Iowa Engineer, February, 1922).

Iowa Spends Huge Sum on Road Work (The Iowa Engineer, March, 1922).

Eriksson, Erik McKinley,

The League of Nations at Work (The Historical Outlook, January, 1922).

Evans, J. E.,

Psychology as Applied to Industry (The Iowa Engineer, February, 1922).

Farr, Clifford H.,
Certain Modern Methods of Horticulture (Transactions of the Iowa Horticultural Society, Vol. LV, 1920).
Dormancy and Winter-Killing of Peach Buds (Transactions of the Iowa Horticultural Society, Vol. LV, 1920).
A New Greenhouse (The Iowa Alumnus, January, 1922).

Ferson, Merton L.,
The Rule in Foakes v. Beer (Yale Law Journal, November, 1921).

Ficke, Arthur Davison,
Rue Des Vents (The North American Review, March, 1922).

Fleming, William H.,
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The school of the Amana Society, by Peter Stuck, in the *Williamsburg Journal-Tribune,* January 5, 1922.

The legal difficulties of the changing Missouri, in the *Fairfield Tribune,* January 5, 1922.

Some early history of Benton County, in the *Vinton Eagle,* January 6, 13, 20, 27, February 3, 10, 17, 24, and March 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1922.

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Across the plains in 1864, by John S. Collins, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* January 7, 14, 21, and February 4, 1922.

Trials of the pioneers in Iowa, in the *Hampton Recorder,* January 12, 1922.

Some ancient history of Beaman and Grundy County, by H. H. Beaman, in the *Grundy Center Republican,* January 12, 1922.

Fifty years as an engineer for the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad, by George Greene, in the *Monticello Express,* January 12, 1922.

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Sketch of the life of W. W. Merritt, in the *Red Oak Sun,* January 13, 1922.

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Sketch of the career of Theodore Parvin, by Freeman R. Conaway, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican,* January 15, 1922.

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Sketch of the life of Z. A. Church, in the *Rockwell City Advocate,* and the *Rockwell City Republican,* January 19, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Byron C. Ward, in the *Des Moines News* and the *Des Moines Capital,* January 19, 1922.

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Benjamin Bowman, pioneer stage driver, in the *Grundy Center Dispatch,* January 26, 1922.

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Sketch of the life of Walter I. Smith, in the *Atlantic News* and the *Shenandoah World,* January 28, 1922, and the *Des Moines Capital,* February 1, 1922.

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The name "Iowa", by Cyrenus Cole, in the *Fairfield Tribune,* February 9, 1922.

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Reminiscences of Council Bluffs, by Watson R. Cooper, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* February 10, 1922.

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P. J. Morehouse in Libby prison, in the *Manchester Press,* February 16, 1922.

Early band in Fort Madison, by Port A. Emmons, in the *Fort Madison Democrat,* February 16, 1922.

Sketch of the life of William Cobb, in the *Bedford Free Press,* February 16, 1922.

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The "calico" road, by John Lett, in the *Tipton Advertiser,* February 17, 1922.

The Indians and the settlers, in the *Traer Star-Clipper,* February 17, 1922.

Mrs. Rebecca Bolden and the settlement of Waterloo, in the *Waterloo Courier,* February 18, 1922.

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The building of the Burlington, by W. W. Baldwin, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye,* February 19, 1922.

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The desk of Governor William Larrabee, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger,* and the *Marshalltown Times Republican,* March 3, 1922.

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Sketch of the life of W. W. M'Farlane, in the *Waterloo Courier,* March 4, 1922.

The war record of the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth Infantry, in the *Des Moines Capital,* March 5, 1922, and the *Pomeroy Herald,* March 9, 1922.

Early days in Sioux City, in the *Alton Democrat,* March 4, 1922

Thomas Owen, survivor of Indian massacre at Julesburg, Colorado in the *Des Moines Register,* March 7, 1922.

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Sketch of the life of J. G. Protextor, in the *Rock Rapids Review* March 9, 1922.

Pioneer life in Howard Township, Story County, by N. Tjernagel, in the *Roland Record,* March 9, 1922.

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The old Charles Gregoire mansion, in the *Dubuque Herald,* March 11, 1922.

Sketch of the lives of Curtis, James A., and George Shedd, of Denmark, in the *Fort Madison Democrat,* March 13, 1922.

The Iowa City square and the State University, in the *Iowa City Republican,* March 21, 1922.

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Log cabin in Ottumwa, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* March 21, 1922.

Sketch of the life of T. F. Baldwin, in the *Keokuk Gate City,* March 22, 1922.

Sketch of the life of William J. Campbell, in the *Wapello Tribune,* March 23, 1922.

Sketch of the life of George E. Hubbell, in the *Davenport Democrat,* March 23, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Asa B. Dowell, said to be Iowa's oldest resident, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* March 15, 1922.

Indian relics at Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Journal,* March 16, 1922.

Early legislative activities, in the *Washington Journal,* March 18, 1922.

Locating the city of Grinnell, in the *Des Moines Capital,* March 18, 1922.

The grave of a Revolutionary soldier in Iowa, by Hiram Heaton, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye,* March 19, 1922, the *Marshalltown Times Republican,* March 23, 1922, and the *Manchester Press,* March 30, 1922.

Sketch of the life of J. L. McCreery, pioneer journalist, who wrote "There Is No Death", in the *Waterloo Times,* March 19, 1922, and the *Marshalltown Times Republican,* March 23, 1922.

First issue of the *Osceola Courier,* in the *Osceola Sentinel,* March 23, 1922.

First survey for railroad across Iowa, in the *Iowa Falls Sentinel,* March 23, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. William S. Ivins, in the *Keokuk Gate City,* March 27, 1922.

Agreement of the Milford Emigration and Colonization Society owned by E. C. Herrick, in the *Cherokee Times,* March 29, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Benjamin F. Parks, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* March 29, 1922.

The Oliver Clark homestead at Mount Vernon, in the *Mount Vernon Record,* March 29, 1922.

Early days at Grinnell, in the *Oakland Acorn,* March 30, 1922.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

Historical Markers in Indiana is the title of Bulletin No. 14, published by the Indiana Historical Commission.

The Spanish Missions of California, an address by Juan Riano, the Spanish ambassador to the United States, is one of the contributions in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for April.

A fourth volume of *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin,* collected and edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, has been published as a volume in the *Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.*

The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society for December, 1921, contains *John Boit's Log of the Columbia,* edited by F. W. Howay and T. C. Elliott. There is also a *Remnant of Official Log of the Columbia,* annotated by T. C. Elliott.

The number of *The Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* for October-December, 1921, contains the annual report of the Society for the year 1921.

The annual reports of the Western Reserve Historical Society for 1920 and 1921 have been issued as Publication No. 103 of the Society.

Mary Floyd Williams is the editor of a third installment of the *Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851,* which has recently appeared as volume four of the *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History.*

The Science of Columbus, by Elizabeth Miller (Mrs. Oren S. Hack), has been published as a recent number in the *Indiana Historical Society Publications.*

Fort Pitt, an article by Charles W. Dahlinger, is the chief contribution to the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for January. *William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania,* by Albert Sidney Bolles, and *The Framing of the United States Constitution,* by Edwin Z. Smith, are other articles in this number.

Two recent publications of the California Historical Survey Commission are the *Guide to the County Archives of California,* by Owen C. Coy, and *The Architectural History of Mission San Carlos Borromeo,* by Frances Rand Smith. The former is a bibliography of county records arranged alphabetically by the counties.

The Control of Manufacturing by the Confederate Government, by Charles W. Ramsdell, and *George Rogers Clark's Service of Supply,* by James G. Randall, are the two papers in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, 1921. Under the headings *Notes and Documents* is a letter relating to the Illinois country in 1792 written by N. Mitchell to Alexander Hamilton.

Archaeological Research in the Northeastern San Juan Basin of Colorado During the Summer of 1921, by Jean Allard Jeancon, is a report issued by the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado and the University of Denver. It is edited by Frank H. H. Roberts.

Revolutionary Camps of the Hudson Highlands, by W. S. Thomas, *The Calvinist Mind in America,* by Dixon R. Fox, *The Town of Dover on Staten Island,* by George W. Tuttle, and *The Huguenots — The First Settlers in the Province of New York,* by Ralph Le Fevre, are the four articles in *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* for July, 1921.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for December, 1921, contains the following papers: *Vincennes in Its Relation to French Colonial Policy,* by Paul C. Phillips; *A Journal of Travel from New York to Vincennes and Return in 1827,* by Samuel Bernard Judah; and *Shabonee's Account of the Battle of Tippecanoe,* by J. Wesley Whickar.

The January number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*

contains the following articles and papers: *The Last Treaty of the Republic of Texas,* by W. P. Webb; *Founding of Nuestra Senora Del Refugio,* by William E. Dunn; a concluding installment of the *Journal of Lewis Birdsall Harris, 1836-1842;* and a continuation of *The Bryan-Hayes Correspondence,* edited by E. W. Winkler.

Volume nineteen of the *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society* contains a large number of documents under the title *The Pitkin Papers; Correspondence and Documents during William Pitkin's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1766-1769.*

A History of the Coal Industry in Kentucky, by Willard Rouse Jillson, *A Glimpse of Paris in 1809,* by Mrs. W. H. Whitley, *William Thompson Price,* and *Clark County, Kentucky, in the Census of 1810,* copied and edited by A. C. Quisenberry, are among the contributions found in *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for January.

Washington in Essex County, by Robert S. Rantoul, *The Essex Guards,* by Lawrence Waters Jenkins, and a continuation of *Salem Vessels and Their Voyages,* by George Granville Putnam, are three articles which appear in the January issue of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute.*

The Washington Historical Quarterly for January contains the following papers and documents: *The Cowlitz Convention: Inception of Washington Territory,* by Edmond S. Meany; *Advertising and the Klondike,* by Jeannette Paddock Nichols; *The Wreck of the "St. Nicholas",* by C. L. Andrews; a continuation of the *Origin of Washington Geographic Names,* by Edmond S. Meany; and an installment of *The Nisqually Journal,* edited by Victor J. Farrar.

Evolution of Jurisprudence, by Beverly D. Evans, *The Ante-Bellum Academy Movement in Georgia,* by E. Merton Coulter, and some *Howell Cobb Papers,* edited by R. P. Brooks, are the three contributions to *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* for December, 1921.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for July,

1920, contains the following papers and articles: *Side Lights on Illinois Suffrage History,* by Grace Wilbur Trout; *Lewis and Clark at the Mouth of Wood River,* by Charles Gilmer Gray; *The Visit to Springfield of Richard M. Johnson, May 18-20, 1843,* reprinted from the *Illinois State Register; Greene County: Born 100 Years Ago,* by Charles Bradshaw; *Park College and Its Illinois Founder,* by Pauline Aston Hawley; *Recollections of Lincoln and Douglas in Hillsboro, Illinois,* by John M. Whitehead; and *The Northern Boundary Line of Illinois Surveyed by Hiram Rountree.*

Some of the Teachings of History, an address by Calvin Coolidge, *Vermonters in Congress,* compiled by Henry W. Taylor, *Diary of a Journey through Massachusetts, Vermont and Eastern New York in the Summer of 1800,* probably by John Russell Davis, *Reminiscences of Jonathan Elkins, Ezra Butler,* an address by C. C. Parker, and an address by John H. Watson, *In Re Vermont Constitution of 1777, as Regards its Adoption, and its Declaration Forbidding Slavery; and the Subsequent Existence of Slavery within the Territory of the Sovereign State,* are papers and addresses published in the *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society,* 1919-1920.

Volume ten of the *South Dakota Historical Collections* contains a number of articles and papers relating to the history of South Dakota. Among these are two accounts of the expedition under Joseph N. Nicollet and John C. Fremont, which visited this region in 1838 and 1839, written by Fremont and Nicollet. Other papers are the following: *Dakota in the Fifties,* a reminiscence of a soldier musician with the soldiers on guard on the frontier, by Augustus Meyers; *The Astorians in South Dakota,* an unsigned article; *South Dakota's Contribution to Library War Service,* by William H. Powers; *War Savings Stamp Campaign in South Dakota for Year 1918,* by Roger L. Dennis; *South Dakota Fuel Administration,* by W. G. Bickelhaupt; *The State Exemption Board,* by William W. Soule; *The Federal Food Administration in South Dakota During the World War,* by Charles N. Herreid; *A Steam Wagon Invented by an Early Resident of South Dakota;*

Rev. Mary Clementine Collins; The Census of 1860; The Mennonites in South Dakota, by Gertrude S. Young; and *Historical Sketches of Union County, South Dakota,* by M. B. Kent and Alice A. Tollefson.

The *Michigan History Magazine* for January contains the *Ninth Annual Report of the Michigan Historical Commission,* 1921, and the following papers and articles: *The Trial and Execution of the Lincoln Conspirators,* by R. A. Watts; *Women and History,* by Mrs. Franc L. Adams; *Some Marriages in Old Detroit,* by William Renwick Riddell; *Michigan as a Field for the Novelist,* by Arnold Mulder; *Chief Okemos,* by F. N. Turner; *A Record of the Development of the Grand Rapids Americanization Society's Plan of Citizenship Training through the Ballot,* by Frank L. Dykema; *William Austin Burt: Inventor,* by Horace Eldon Burt; and *The Chicago Indian Treaty of 1821,* by Sue I. Silliman.

Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days appears in magazine form beginning with the January-March issue for 1921. Among the papers and articles in this number are: *Old Books on Western History; The Lillie Corn Husker,* by Samuel C. Bassett; *First Hat Factory in Nebraska; Wyuka Cemetery — Origin of the Name;* and *James Murie and the Skidi Pawnee.* In the following issue, for April-June, 1921, are a number of short papers, among which are: *The Major Day Military Papers; Further Notes on Walker's Ranch,* by F. L. Carrico; *Dripping Fork Cave of the Platte; Some Recollections of Judge Grimison;* and *Diary of William Dunn, Freighter.* There is also a bibliography of the publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society, and a plea for the establishment of a State park at the site of Fort Atkinson.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly for October, 1920, contains the following contributions: *Louisiana Completa,* a story of the treaty with Spain in 1818-1821, by Edward Alexander Parsons, *An Historical Sketch on the Construction of the Custom House of the City of New Orleans,* by Charles A. Favrot, *Judah Philip Benjamin or Jewish Prophecy Fulfilled,* by Joseph Mitchell Pilcher, *Edward Livingston,* by Merrill Moores, *My Recollections of the*

Battle of the Fourteenth of September, 1874, in New Orleans, La., by Frank L. Richardson, *The Constitutions of Louisiana with Some Observations on the Constitutional Convention of 1921,* by W. O. Hart; *Bonded Debt of New Orleans 1822 to 1920 Inclusive,* by Horace P. Phillips, and a continuation of *Cabildo Archives,* edited by Henry P. Dart.

The Missouri Historical Review for October, 1921, contains the following papers and documents: *How Missouri Commemorated,* by Walter B. Stevens; *Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri,* by Wiley Britton; *Missourians Abroad – Glenn Frank,* by George F. Thomson; *The Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Debt,* by E. M. Violette; *The Followers of Duden,* by William G. Bek; and *Shelby's Expedition to Mexico,* by John N. Edwards; *Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions in Missouri,* by Isidor Loeb, *The Constitution of 1820,* by F. W. Lehmann, *Missourians Abroad — Florence D. White,* by W. A. Kelsoe, *Traditions Concerning the Missouri Question,* by Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri,* by Wiley Britton, and a seventh installment of *The Followers of Duden,* by William G. Bek are the articles which appear in the issue for January.

The *Annual Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California for 1919 contains a number of papers and letters, among which are the following: *Los Angeles County War History Committee,* by Mrs. Frances M. Charlton-Harmon; *Senator Thomas R. Bard and the Arizona New Mexico Statehood Controversy,* by Waldemar Westergaard; *The Conquest of Los Angeles,* by Mrs. Corinne King Wright; and *California Pioneer Journalists,* by Mabel R. Thayer. *The Henry E. Huntington Library,* by George Watson Cole, *Thomas R. Bard and Ventura County's Sheep Industry, 1870-1884,* by Waldemar Westergaard, and *The Committees of Vigilance of California,* by Rockwell D. Hunt, are some of the contributions in the volume for 1920.

ACTIVITIES

At the invitation of the State Historical Society of Iowa and the History Department of the State University of Iowa, the fifteenth

annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at Iowa City, Iowa, on May 11 and 12, 1922. The program is in charge of a committee of which George N. Fuller, Secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, is chairman. In addition to the regular program of papers and discussions, James Harvey Robinson, Hamlin Garland, and George F. Parker will be among the speakers. Following the dinner on Thursday evening William E. Connelley, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, will deliver the presidential address. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa is chairman of the local arrangements committee. This is the second meeting at Iowa City, the Association which was organized in 1907 having met here in 1910.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. W. J. Bailey, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Wright Clark, Red Oak, Iowa; Mr. Leroy E. Corlett, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mrs. Loyd Davis, Centerville, Iowa; Mr. J. J. Feroe, Ames, Iowa; Mr. E. S. Holton, Anita, Iowa; Mr. D. W. McCracken, Storm Lake, Iowa; Mr. F. I. McGraw, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. H. C. Nixon, Ames, Iowa; Mr. Millard Peck, Ames, Iowa; Mr. Ralph Pringle, Red Oak, Iowa; Mr. C. S. Relyea, Atlantic, Iowa; Mr. Fred B. Blair, Manchester, Iowa; Mr. Burton V. Bridenstine, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Fred D. Cram, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mrs. Vivian Dean, Tipton, Iowa; Mr. Geo. R. Dennis, Allison, Iowa; Mr. L. D. Dennis, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Lowell L. Forbes, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. A. C. Fuller, Jr., Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mr. Frank A. Harris, New Hampton, Iowa; Mr. W. M. Hetherington, Dubuque, Iowa; Mrs. F. G. Holcomb, Greenfield, Iowa; Dr. C. T. Houser, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Henry L. Huber, Tipton, Iowa; Miss Genevieve Isherwood, Davenport, Iowa; Miss Mabel Jessen, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Dr. L. J. Leech, West Branch, Iowa; Dr. Charles N. McBryde, Ames, Iowa; Mr. W. S. Maxson, West Branch, Iowa; Mr. E. A. Milligan, Jefferson, Iowa; Mr. H. E. Moffett, Eldora, Iowa; Mr. J. W. Morse, Estherville, Iowa; Mr. Harry G. Northey, Water-

loo, Iowa; Mr. Albert B. Rathbun, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. Alfred G. Remley, Anamosa, Iowa; Mr. Geo. J. Scholz, Alta Vista, Iowa; Miss Imelda Shanklin, Kansas City, Missouri; Mr. M. L. Soeth, Wallingford, Iowa; Mrs. Belle Hughes Steckel, Bloomfield, Iowa; Mr. Harry B. Swan, Atlantic, Iowa; Mr. J. A. Treganza, Britt, Iowa; Mr. E. M. Vernon, Corning, Iowa; Mr. F. W. Vorhies, Guthrie Center, Iowa; Mr. F. A. Welch, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. F. M. Wilson, Mechanicsville, Iowa; Mrs. Elmer Wood, Moulton, Iowa; Mr. Lore Alford, Waterloo, Iowa; Rev. W. Waldemar W. Argow, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Sid J. Backus, Algona, Iowa; Mr. F. E. Blackstone, Garner, Iowa; Mr. Malcolm V. Bolton, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. T. L. Brown, Shenandoah, Iowa; Mr. C. C. Buck, Iowa Falls, Iowa; Mr. E. L. Butler, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mr. M. H. Calderwood, Eldridge, Iowa; Dr. Leslie L. Carr, Clermont, Iowa; Mr. William Carson, Burlington, Iowa; Mr. F. C. Chambers, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. James D. Cooney, West Union, Iowa; Mr. J. M. Coons, Macedonia, Iowa; Mrs. Varick C. Crosley, Webster City, Iowa; Mr. B. J. Denman, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Louis E. Dickinson, Keokuk, Iowa; Mr. Volney Diltz, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. D. M. Evans, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. J. L. Farrington, Iowa Falls, Iowa; Mr. W. R. Finlayson, Grundy Center, Iowa; Mr. W. J. Goodwin, Des Moines, Iowa; Dr. John Hamilton, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Miss Ilda Hammer, Knoxville, Iowa; Mr. W. T. Harper, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. E. R. Harrison, Clarinda, Iowa; Dr. J. W. Harrison, Guthrie Center, Iowa; Mr. W. M. Henderson, Traer, Iowa; Mr. John M. Henry, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. T. T. Hitch, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. Walter Hooker, Blanchard, Iowa; Mr. E. M. Howes, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. Fred C. Huebner, Albia, Iowa; Mr. H. B. Hunting, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Louis G. Hurd, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. C. Huttenlocher, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Henry M. Immerzeel, Rippey, Iowa; Mr. R. N. Johnson, Fort Madison, Iowa; Dr. Oliver P. Judkins, Indianola, Iowa; Mrs. J. M. Junkin, Red Oak, Iowa; Mr. Ed. Kaufmann, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Charles R. Keyes, Mt. Vernon, Iowa; Miss Hallie Kinney, Newell, Iowa; Mrs. D. S. Kirkhart, Centerville, Iowa; Dr. L. H. Kornder, Davenport, Iowa; Mrs. Alice Krepps, Maquoketa, Iowa; Mr. Emil Lage, Hol-

stein, Iowa; Miss Ila G. Langdon, Grundy Center, Iowa; Mr. A. J. Lilly, Britt, Iowa; Mr. Malcolm D. Lomas, Red Oak, Iowa; Mr. John W. Lovellette, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. E. M. Lundien, Dayton, Iowa; Mr. Geo. A. Lyon, Estherville, Iowa; Mr. Joe McCormick, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Andrew McMillen, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. Donald Macrae, Jr., Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. Carl H. Mather, Tipton, Iowa; Mr. R. J. Matthews, Clarinda, Iowa; Mr. A. Ray Maxwell, Creston, Iowa; Miss Emma F. Merrell, De Witt, Iowa; Mr. H. O. Miller, Algona, Iowa; Mr. R. D. Morris, Red Oak, Iowa; Mr. Frank L. Mott, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Thomas C. Murphy, Red Oak, Iowa; Miss Hannah Nelson, Stratford, Iowa; Mr. N. H. Nelson, Clermont, Iowa; Mr. Claude E. Nichols, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. F. E. Northup, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mr. Ray Nyemaster, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. S. J. Osgood, Iowa Falls, Iowa; Mr. John H. Peck, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Ole Peterson, Britt, Iowa; Mrs. W. J. Phillips, Centerville, Iowa; Mr. H. A. Phoenix, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. A. M. Piper, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Estella E. Plopper, Iowa Falls, Iowa; Mr. Dwight A. Pomeroy, Ames, Iowa; Mrs. Cora N. Porter, Delhi, Iowa; Mr. Fred J. Poyneer, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. H. E. Pratt, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. S. D. Quarton, Algona, Iowa; Mr. W. H. Ramsay, Garner, Iowa; Mr. W. G. Ray, Grinnell, Iowa; Mr. W. H. Ray, Tipton, Iowa; Mr. Herbert B. Rugh, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Abram J. Schmoker; Winfield, Iowa; Mr. Norman E. Smith, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. O. E. Smith, Indianola, Iowa; Mr. H. H. Spiegel, Odebolt, Iowa; Mr. J. E. Spotts, Battle Creek, Iowa; Mr. Edw. C. Starrett, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Almor Stern, Logan, Iowa; Mrs. Emily W. Stewart, Fort Madison, Iowa; Rev. John C. Stuart, Waukon, Iowa; Mr. John E. Taylor, Knoxville, Iowa; Mr. Paul F. Thomas, Guthrie Center, Iowa; Dr. Mathew A. Tinley, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. Charles S. Todd, Edgewood, Iowa; Mr. S. W. Towle, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. Frank B. Ulish, Goose Lake, Iowa; Mr. H. M. Van Auken, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. W. H. Vanderploeg, Pella, Iowa; Miss Marie Ethel Van Nest, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. J. L. Welden, Iowa Falls, Iowa; Mr. G. T. Wellman, Sheldon, Iowa; Mrs. Blanch Williams, Madrid, Iowa; Mr. William H. Winsor, Cedar Rapids,

Iowa; Mr. Carl C. Wohlenberg, Holstein, Iowa; Mrs. Mary Clarke-Woolley, Le Mars, Iowa; Mr. Geo. S. Wright, Council Bluffs, Iowa; and Mr. Joseph Albert Young, Bellevue, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The annual national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic will be held at Des Moines during the week beginning September 24, 1922. A hundred thousand visitors are expected.

A portrait of Judge Joshua Tracy was presented to the Des Moines County Bar Association on March 8, 1922, by George S. Tracy representing the Tracy family. The painting, the work of Katherine Scott, will hang in the district court room at Burlington.

Company F of the Fifty-first Iowa Volunteers held a three day reunion at Oskaloosa on February 15-17, 1922. This was a part of the Iowa regiment which saw service in the Philippine Islands.

Records of the services of members of the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution and their relatives have been compiled by Mrs. F. B. Thrall of Ottumwa. One copy of this compilation will be preserved in the archives of the State Historical Department at Des Moines, and a second copy will be filed in the Memorial Continental Hall in Washington, D. C.

The Chicago, Rock Island, and St. Paul Railroad is preparing a history of that road as a feature of the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the operation of the first train west from Chicago on October 10, 1852. This road reached the Mississippi River at Rock Island and later was extended westward across Iowa as the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad.

A bill introduced by Senator Albert B. Cummins provides that the Secretary of War shall furnish to each State the record cards of all soldiers sent by the State to the World War. These cards are to give brief but complete records of the individual soldiers, including the place of death of those who died in service. Various other data as to organizations and units are likewise to be furnished. The bill carries an appropriation of $350,000.

CONTRIBUTORS

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SIOUX CITY AND THE BLACK HILLS GOLD RUSH 1874-1877

Situated between the Belle Fourche River and the South Fork of the Cheyenne River are the Black Hills, famous not only for their scenery but also for their rich mineral resources. The Hills which cover an area of approximately 3500 square miles are, for the most part, embraced within the present counties of Custer, Lawrence, Meade, Pennington, and Fall River, in the State of South Dakota.[1] The region constitutes a geological system perfect and complete in itself, consisting of "a nucleus of upturned metamorphic rocks, mica-schists, slates, and quartzites of Archaean time, surrounded by encircling belts of the subsequent geological formations, extending continuously around the Hills, arranged in the order of their deposition, with a general dip from the center toward the level plains."[2] The country is rich in minerals, for besides gold and silver there are vast gypsum beds, mica, petroleum, natural gas, sandstones, limestones, granite, and marble.[3]

Until the year 1874, the Black Hills region was one of mystery. Though the district had been touched by Astor's fur parties as early as 1811, and afterwards had been skirted by various military expeditions, the interior had

[1] Steuart's *Mines and Quarries,* 1902, p. 308 (Special Reports of the Census Office).

[2] Jenney's *Report on the Mineral Wealth, Climate, and Rain-Fall, and Natural Resources of the Black Hills of Dakota,* p. 5, in *Senate Executive Documents,* 44th Congress, 1st Session, Doc. No. 51.

[3] Steuart's *Mines and Quarries,* 1902, p. 308 (Special Reports of the Census Office).

never been explored by white men. Indian hostility alone had been sufficient to keep white men out of the Hills prior to 1868. In that year the United States government made a treaty with the Sioux Indians, in which it agreed to prevent the whites from entering the region. The fear of the Indians combined with the government restriction was effective in keeping the Hills closed until 1874, in spite of the fact that interest in exploring the forbidden territory was rapidly developing.[4]

One influence in arousing interest in the Black Hills was the belief that gold was to be found there. This belief was strengthened by the fact that the Indians were known to possess fine specimens of the precious metal. When asked where they obtained the gold, they would point in the direction of the Black Hills, but would never consent to show white people where they had found it.[5]

To Charles Collins, editor of the *Sioux City Times,* must be given much of the credit for arousing interest in the Black Hills. Originally his plans for the invasion of the Dakotas had nothing to do with the desire for gold. He was an ardent Fenian, and in 1869 conceived a grand scheme for the establishment of an Irish-American empire on the upper Missouri River. His idea was that the colonists could await a favorable opportunity and then invade Canada and wipe out the English there. His plan was submitted to a Fenian convention at St. Louis in 1869 and met with an enthusiastic reception. However, after a committee appointed for the purpose had visited the proposed

4 *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* March 18, 1875; Robinson's *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians,* pp. 382-387, 408, in the *South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. II, Pt. 2; Tallent's *The Black Hills,* pp. 1-16.

Mrs. Annie D. Tallent, the author of this history, was the first white woman to enter the Black Hills, going with the first expedition from Sioux City in 1874.

5 Tallent's *The Black Hills,* p. 17.

area of settlement, it returned an unfavorable report and the project came to nothing.

Collins was not discouraged, but turned his efforts to a scheme for the settlement of the Black Hills. During the spring and summer of 1872 he published in his paper, the *Sioux City Times,* a series of sensational articles, depicting the wonders and resources of the Hills. He especially stressed the possibility of finding gold, though he had no knowledge that it existed there, other than the Indian tradition. Through the efforts of Collins, there was organized, on February 27, 1872, the "Black Hills Mining and Exploring Association of Sioux City". Among those actively interested in this company were Thomas H. Russell, an experienced frontiersman who had been attracted to Sioux City by Collins's editorials, and Dan Scott, editor of the *Sioux City Journal.* This plan also collapsed when the military authorities issued orders to disperse any expedition headed for the Black Hills and arrest the leaders.[6]

The chief influence, however, in arousing popular interest in the Black Hills was the Custer expedition of 1874. Acting under orders from General Philip H. Sheridan, General George A. Custer, on July 2, 1874, left Fort Abraham Lincoln, in Dakota Territory, with a force of 1200 men. The force moved in a southwesterly direction and on July 20th crossed the Belle Fourche River and entered the Black Hills region. After exploring the territory the troops returned to the fort on August 22, 1874, without experiencing any difficulty with the Indians.[7] As

[6] *Sioux City Weekly Times,* March 6, 1875; Tallent's *The Black Hills,* pp. 5-8.

[7] Robinson's *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians,* pp. 408, 413, in the *South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. II, Pt. 2; *Harper's Weekly,* Vol. XVIII (September 12, 1874), p. 753.

a consequence of this exploration, which definitely ascertained that there was gold in the Hills, there occurred the great gold rush of 1874-1877.

General Sheridan in his annual report to the Secretary of War sought to minimize the importance of the gold discovery, and stressed rather the military value of Custer's expedition. He said in part:

> The country of the Black Hills examined by Colonel Custer is, I am led to believe, of great value for its timber, and it contains some gold and silver, but the tests in the Custer reconnaissance are not sufficient to establish their existence in large quantities. I again recommend the establishment of a large military post there for the reasons given in my last report, viz, better control of the Indians.[8]

But the people were not interested in the military aspects of the question. It was what Custer said in regard to the resources of the Hills, and especially in regard to the finding of gold, that attracted popular attention and produced the gold fever. On August 2, 1874, Custer dispatched a long telegram to the headquarters of the Department of Dakota at St. Paul. He depicted the wonderful scenery of the Hills, the abundance of grass for grazing, the streams of clear running water, the timber, the rich soil, and the fruits growing wild. Then came the most interesting part of the report to the effect that gold had been found at several places and that it was the belief of the scientists accompanying the expedition that it would be found in paying quantities. This point was not discussed at length for General Custer continued:

> As we have never remained longer at our camp than one day, it will be readily understood that there is no opportunity to

[8] *Report of the Secretary of War*, pp. 24, 25, in *House Executive Documents*, 43rd Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. I, Pt. 2, Doc. No. 1.

make a satisfactory examination in regard to deposits of valuable minerals. Veins of lead and strong indications of the existence of silver have been found. Until further examination is made regarding the richness of the gold, no opinion should be formed. Veins of what the geologists term gold-bearing quartz crop out on almost every hillside.[9]

This report was given to the press on August 12, 1874, and was soon reprinted in newspapers throughout the country. Nowhere did it arouse keener interest than in Iowa. On August 22, 1874, the *Northern Vindicator,* published at Estherville, reproduced part of the report under the title, "Another Eldorado". The *Iowa State Register,* published at Des Moines, printed the report on August 24th, under the heading "Discovery of a New Paradise". But the remarks of these papers were mild compared to those of the *Sioux City Times.* It said: "The great northwestern mystery, which has been the waking dream of miners and adventurers for the past twenty years, is at last unveiled. The Black Hills Country has been invaded and explored. Custer and his command have traveled up their rugged ranges on the north, climbed their highest peak, sauntered on their sunny southern slopes, and is now on his return to Fort Lincoln. At last we have reliable information from the hills, which shows a reality exceeding the brightest pictures ever painted by our imagination." This paper called attention to the fact that the chief gold discoveries of the Custer expedition were in the placers in the eastern part of the Hills. The effect of this, said the *Times,* would be to give to Sioux City "and the routes radiating from here, a decided preference with the army

[9] *Letter from the Secretary of War,* pp. 5, 6, in *Senate Executive Documents,* 43rd Congress, 2nd Session, Doc. No. 32.

of pioneers that will in the near future immigrate to this latest and apparently greatest El Dorado."[10]

In anticipation of the rush to the Black Hills which it was expected would follow the publication of the Custer report, both the *Sioux City Journal* and the *Times* made haste to advertise the desirability of outfitting at Sioux City and starting the journey to the Hills from that city. "The great natural route to the Northwest", said the *Journal,* "is by way of Sioux City . . . . We are the nearest base of supplies to the Black Hills. We have the only all good country intervening."[11]

The *Times* was much more profuse in urging the gold seekers to go to the Hills by way of Sioux City. It showed that a considerable amount could be saved travellers from the East if they went to the gold district by way of Sioux City and Yankton, rather than by way of Bismarck or Cheyenne,[12] because of the shorter distance by the first named route. It also urged the advantages of Sioux City as an outfitting point and stressed the fact that the route from Sioux City to the Black Hills was more feasible than any other route. "On this route, all the way, there is abundance of timber, water and grazing, while, to approach the Hills from any other direction, either from Laramie on the South, or Bismarck on the North, the traveler must pass over the timberless and waterless plains of Wyoming, or over the dreaded *mauvaise terres* or bad lands of Dakota."[13]

[10] Robinson's *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians,* p. 414, in the *South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. II, Pt. 2; *Sioux City Weekly Times,* August 15, 1874.

[11] *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* August 20, 1874.

[12] Bismarck and Cheyenne, as well as Sioux City, played important parts in the Black Hills gold rush, but it is primarily the purpose of this article to develop the part taken by the last named city.

[13] *Sioux City Weekly Times,* August 22, 1874.

The first civilian expedition to leave for the Black Hills, after the Custer exploration, was organized at Sioux City. As early as May, 1874, before the departure of Custer's expedition, Charles Collins and T. H. Russell had undertaken a new project for the invasion of the forbidden land. In three months, according to the *Times,* communications had been received from three hundred men who desired to go to the Hills. While Custer was still in the region, they had gone to Chicago, where, by the 13th of August, 1874, they had enrolled 11,000 men, who were anxious to go to the "new Eldorado".[14]

The extensive publicity given the project soon attracted the attention of the military authorities. As a result there was issued from the headquarters of the Military Division of the Missouri at Chicago, on August 27, 1874, an order to General Alfred H. Terry at St. Paul not to permit expeditions to enter the Black Hills. In commenting on this order, which it published in the same issue, the *Sioux City Journal* expressed doubt as to whether it would be strictly enforced and was of the opinion that gold seekers would disregard it. It continued:

> We do not apprehend the adventuresome spirits who have been woke up by General Custer's glowing stories will yield without an effort. If General Custer had kept out of the Black Hills there would have been no other movement, at present at least, in that direction. If the military expedition was not intended as an opening wedge to that country, then it was an inexcusably wicked thing on the part of [the] Government. Therefore the sincerity of the instructions to General Terry will be doubted. Therefore at any rate, the irresistible forward march on the Black Hills was commenced.[15]

After the issuance of this order, Collins and Russell os-

[14] *Sioux City Weekly Times,* March 6, 1875.

[15] *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* September 3, 1874.

tensibly gave up their plan, publicly announcing that the expedition had been abandoned, and after his return to Sioux City, the *Journal* published the result of an interview with Collins. He asserted that within a week he could concentrate 6000 men at Sioux City, but under the circumstances he felt disinclined to violate such plain orders of the military himself or to ask others to disregard them. The report continued:

> So far as the present expedition is concerned, Mr. Collins asserts that he will "take a back seat". He desires to go to the Black Hills, but will only do so by the consent and countenance of the Government. His effort in organizing an expedition, he says, has demonstrated the fact that the people are wide awake to such rare enterprises, and he feels confident that, should Congress take such action upon the Black Hills question by another spring as he has reasons to believe will be taken—a person will have no trouble in raising an army of 10,000 pioneers, who will be ready to march forth upon the first sound of the trumpet.[16]

But Collins and his associates had no real intention of abandoning their plan for the invasion of the Black Hills. Such public announcements were mere camouflage for the preparations which were already under way. A meeting of those interested was held in the rooms of the Irish Literary Society in the *Times* building, as a result of which about fifty men signed the roll of the Black Hills expedition.[17] A few days later the *Times* stated that several hundred letters were being received at its office from men who were eager to go to the Hills. "At Sioux City", it said, "the excitement is intense. Not less than one hundred frontiersmen, men who have seen service in the mountains and on the plains, are anxiously awaiting

16 *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* September 10, 1874.

17 *Sioux City Weekly Times,* August 29, 1874.

the departure of the expedition." It stated that, on September 3rd, two tents of fifty capacity each had been pitched on Prospect Hill to house the gold seekers, while many others were being accommodated at the hotels. The paper again called attention to the advantages of Sioux City as an outfitting point. For about $100, it stated, a man could secure all the necessary articles which included a rifle, revolver, flour, salt, ammunition, blankets, cooking utensils, a pick, shovel, and gold pan. For $569.85 full equipment for a party of five could be secured, including a wagon, horses, provisions, and tools. The *Times* expressed the opinion that the government would not interfere in spite of its warning. It urged that none should start until they received orders from Collins and Russell.[18]

After the announcement in the *Journal* on September 10th that the expedition had been abandoned, preparations were carried on more secretly to avoid attracting the attention of the military. The party which had finally agreed to make the journey assembled three miles west of the Missouri River, from which point they started for the Hills on October 16, 1874. They had placarded their wagons with the words "O'Neil Colony", to give the impression that they were destined for a settlement that was being established in the Elkhorn Valley and thus avoid suspicion.[19]

The movements of this expedition were kept out of the papers at the time and it was not until several weeks later that mention of its departure was made. In reply to an article in the *Journal* which intimated that the expedition would probably camp for the winter on the Niobrara River, the *Times* stated emphatically that there was no

[18] *Sioux City Weekly Times*, September 5, 1874.

[19] *Sioux City Weekly Times*, March 6, 1875.

intention to stop before reaching the Hills, in spite of Indians or other obstacles. It said further: "The men who are the controlling spirits, and those who largely compose the Expedition, fully realized the task they had undertaken, both before they started and at the present time, and letters just received at this office, of the latest dates, speak in the most encouraging way of the sanguine and hopeful feeling that pervades the members of the Expedition as to their early entry of the Black Hills. We predict that ere this paper reaches its readers, the Expedition will be safe in the Black Hills."[20]

No further news concerning the expedition was published until the following February. Then the *Times* published the following statement: "The Times Black Hills expedition has been heard from. The party successfully made the entry into the Hills, and are safely and comfortably quartered in the very centre of what is believed to be the richest mineral section of the Hills. They have plenty of provisions, abundance of game, have had no serious mishaps, and all are in good spirits. As to their success, this being a purely private expedition, gotten up mainly to solve, practically test, and reliably learn just what the Hills contained, it is deemed essential, to the interest of those most vitally interested, to withhold from the public for the present, just what our expedition has thus far discovered and accomplished."[21]

About two weeks later, two members of the expedition, Eph Witcher and John Gordon, returned to Sioux City from the Hills which they had left on February 2, 1875. Their arrival occasioned considerable excitement in the city. The *Times* devoted almost two full pages to their

20 *Sioux City Weekly Times,* November 7, 1874.

21 *Sioux City Weekly Times,* February 20, 1875.

account of the expedition, and to the letters which they brought from various members who had remained in the Hills, including Mrs. Annie D. Tallent, D. G. Tallent, R. R. Whitney, Capt. T. H. Russell, and J. Newton Warren. This account was the first detailed information that was given the public concerning the Collins-Russell expedition, by which name it is best known. There were twenty-eight persons in the party which left Sioux City, including one woman, Mrs. Annie D. Tallent and one boy, her son. Collins did not accompany the party, but Russell did. John Gordon, who was familiar with the country, acted as the guide. Except for the desertion of one member and the death of another there was no serious mishap enroute. Neither government troops nor hostile Indians were encountered. The party reached their destination on December 28, 1874, and immediately proceeded to construct a stockade on French Creek for the purpose of protection. Seven log cabins were built within the stockade to house the members of the party. After this work was accomplished, enough prospecting was done to find some gold to send back to Sioux City with Witcher and Gordon.[22]

Meanwhile, the government troops were seeking the party with a view to removing them from the Hills. Early in December, a detachment under Captain Tolman was sent out from Fort Sully but because of insufficient provisions was forced to give up the chase after fifteen days. On December 26, 1874, a cavalry detachment under Colonel Henry left the Red Cloud Agency on a similar mission, but this force also returned unsuccessful, because of the extreme cold. Commenting on these incidents, the *Times* said:

[22] *Sioux City Weekly Times*, March 6, 1875. A full account of the Collins-Russell expedition is found in Tallent's *The Black Hills*, pp. 18-102.

> The government may as well make up their minds that the Sioux City Times Expedition, now in the Black Hills, are invincible and impregnable. We say it in all candor, and not in a spirit of braggadocio, that the government is fooling away both its time and money, when they undertake to move our boys out of the Hills with any ordinary body of troops. The men who compose the Sioux City Times Black Hills Expedition. . . . . believe they have a right to mine and develop the resources of that country, and they will do it, unless the military send in an army large enough to capture twenty-seven as brave and determined frontiersmen as ever drew a bead on a buffalo, or scalped an Indian. We predict that our friends, when they come out of the Black Hills, will come out of their own accord, and not till then.[23]

But this prediction by the *Times* was not realized. Early in April, 1875, the party was located by a detachment of cavalry commanded by Captain Mix, and ordered to depart. No resistance was made to the carrying out of the order. Taking only the most essential articles, and abandoning the rest of their possessions, the gold seekers, on April 7, began the trip to Fort Laramie, Wyoming, under military escort. After a short detention they were paroled, and accompanied by Collins, who had gone to Fort Laramie as soon as he had received news of their arrest, returned to Sioux City on April 30, 1875, by way of the Sioux City and Pacific Railroad.[24]

Elaborate preparations were made for the reception of the party in Sioux City. According to the *Journal,* at least a thousand men were gathered at the depot "to welcome the original Black Hillers back to Sioux City". As the train rolled in, the band of the Light Guard played "a lively air", a six-pounder "woke the echoes", while

23 *Sioux City Weekly Times,* January 16, 1875.

24 *Sioux City Weekly Times,* May 1, 1875; Tallent's *The Black Hills,* pp. 84-100.

the crowd "struggled with each other for a first sight of the heroes". As soon as possible a hollow square was formed by the uniformed fire department, in which the Black Hillers, "with trusty rifles in hand", took position. Fire Chief E. R. Kirk, the master of ceremonies, then introduced Mayor Warner, who expressed "the formal welcome of Sioux City". The mayor "spoke of Sherman's march to the sea, of Fremont's expedition, of Custer's explorations in the land from whence they were just returned, and assured the men that they had done a more heroic thing and a braver thing. He said they had prepared the way for the opening up to settlement of the country, and done much toward settling the vexed Indian question."[25]

Certain capitalists of Sioux City were quick to perceive the opportunity to reap a harvest of gold by transporting freight and passengers to the Black Hills. The first transportation company to be organized was the Sioux City and Black Hills Transportation Company. At a meeting on March 10, 1875, James A. Sawyers was chosen president of the company, Ed. Henn was made secretary, D. T. Gilman treasurer, and Fred T. Evans superintendent. The directors elected were A. W. Hubbard, H. D. Booge, J. L. Follett, C. E. Hedges, J. A. Sawyers, George Weare, J. H. Charles, H. L. Warner, and H. A. Hamilton. Ten thousand dollars was pledged for the purpose of securing the necessary equipment.[26]

During the next few weeks the company exhibited great activity in preparing for the first expedition which it was proposed to start for the Hills on April 1, 1875. John Gordon, who had successfully led the Collins-Russell expedition to the Black Hills, was selected as the leader. The

[25] *Sioux City Weekly Journal*, May 6, 1875.

[26] *Sioux City Weekly Journal*, March 11, 1875.

expedition was advertised in the *Sioux City Journal* and other papers, and soon strangers were coming to the city to join it.[27]

The Sioux City and Black Hills Transportation Company was bitterly denounced by Collins in the *Times*. He said that the company was a fraud, and asserted that the open advertisement of its intentions in defiance of government orders to keep out of the Indian country had caused the route from Sioux City to the Black Hills to be singled out for a government embargo. "This", said the *Times*, "will drive the tide of the Black Hills immigration that for years we have been working to bring by way of Sioux City to other points that are not placed under Government surveillance. This has all been brought about by the Gordon swindlers."[28] Evidently Collins was angered by the fact that he had not been taken into the new company, and that others seemed about to reap where he had sown.

Newspapers outside of Sioux City were also denunciatory in their attitude towards the transportation company. In an editorial entitled "The Black Hills Humbug", the *Northern Vindicator* of Estherville referred to the sensational stories which were being circulated concerning the Black Hills, and said:

> Sioux City leads in this matter, and it is amusing to note, that, instead of forming a mining company to develop the richness of the mines, the enterprising capitalists of that City confine themselves to the organization of a transportation company, charging from one to two hundred dollars per head passage money.[29]

The *Iowa State Register* of Des Moines also discounted the stories emanating from Sioux City. It reprinted from

27 *Sioux City Weekly Journal*, March 11, 18, 1875.

28 *Sioux City Weekly Times*, April 17, 1875.

29 *Northern Vindicator* (Weekly, Estherville), March 27, 1875.

the *Sioux City Journal* Gordon's statement concerning the Collins-Russell expedition and the Black Hills, and commented as follows:

> It is well enough for everybody, before they get excited over the above news, to remember that Sioux City has once or twice before got up a Black Hills excitement, that it is at that point that this so-called expedition was formed; and that it has a good deal to gain, as a fitting out point, for expeditions which may be organized hereafter. These highly-colored dispatches must be taken with caution. Let all who want gold, and are willing to go even to the Black Hills to get it, remember the many hoaxes and humbugs in the past, and the very slight foundation on which the Sioux City dispatches are building up this new bonanza now.[30]

In spite of the fact that General Sherman, on March 17, 1875, from the headquarters of the army at St. Louis, had issued orders to expel all intruders on Indian land,[31] the preparations for the departure of the Gordon expedition were openly carried on. The train was not ready to start on April 1st as originally announced, and it was not until April 25th that the party was ferried across the Missouri River, so as to be ready to start the overland journey on the following day.[32] All went well with the expedition, which consisted of about one hundred and fifty men, forty-seven wagons, and between seventy and eighty teams, until May 13, 1875. On that day the expedition was intercepted by troops and part of the members made prisoners. When the news of this reached Sioux City, the Transportation Company, on May 21, 1875, sent a telegram to Secretary of War William W. Belknap asking the release and return

[30] *Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), March 12, 1875.

[31] *Sioux City Weekly Journal*, March 25, 1875.

[32] Tallent's *The Black Hills*, pp. 120-123.

of the prisoners.[33] The remainder of the expedition proceeded on their journey, thinking that they would not be molested further. But on the morning of May 21, 1875, their camp was surrounded by two companies of cavalry commanded by Captain Fergus Walker. According to the reports sent to the Sioux City papers, the soldiers were allowed to pillage the camp, and then fire was set to the remaining property, including fourteen of the wagons. It was claimed that $25,000 worth of property of "law abiding citizens" was destroyed. The whole party, consisting of eighty men and one woman, was taken to Fort Randall, where the thirty-eight persons previously captured had been taken. The affair aroused the greatest resentment in Sioux City, and was described by the newspapers of that city as an "outrage". It was claimed that the expedition was not in Indian territory at the time of their capture, so that the troops had no justification for their action.[34] That there was some basis for this claim was shown by later court action. While other members of the expedition were paroled John Gordon, the leader, was kept a prisoner by the military. A writ of *habeas corpus* was applied for on July 22nd and granted by Judge Elmer S. Dundy in the court at Falls City, Nebraska, on August 24, 1875. In granting the writ, which ordered General George Crook to deliver Gordon for civil trial, the judge declared that the destruction of the property of the expedition had been unauthorized by law.[35] On Gordon's being delivered for trial, Judge Dundy ordered him to be released, and the incident was closed.[36]

33 *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* May 27, 1875.

34 *Sioux City Weekly Times,* May 29, 1875; *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* May 27, June 10, 17, 1875; Tallent's *The Black Hills,* pp. 120-123.

35 *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* September 9, 1875.

36 Tallent's *The Black Hills,* p. 122.

The fate of the Gordon expedition had the effect of discouraging any further attempts to send large expeditions from Sioux City to the Hills in 1875. Not only was the Sioux City and Black Hills Transportation Company forced to suspend operations, but the Witcher Company, established by N. L. Witcher, also found it necessary to give up its plans. Witcher sold his equipment, saying it was impossible to get wagon trains into the Black Hills.[37]

Both the *Sioux City Times* and the *Journal* expressed the general dissatisfaction with the government restriction. Both suggested that individuals or small parties could dash into the Hills, while larger parties would be intercepted. Thus, the *Times* said:

> It ought to be generally understood that because the government has issued orders to stop the Sioux City Transportation Company party from going to the Black Hills, is not any reason that private expeditions . . . . or parties starting from Sioux City will be interfered with—neither do they take any greater risks of being captured by troops than expeditions that have already started, or are in process of organization at other points. The government already realizes that 50,000 men intend to celebrate the Fourth of July in the Black Hills, and that to put a cordon of troops around the belt of States and Territories from which the Black Hills can be reached, would require an army only equaled by that called out in the late civil war. Private expeditions are being organized at Sioux City for the Hills, and those desiring to join any of them would do well to be here on or before the first of May. Merchants and others in anticipation of the coming rush have laid in immense stocks of goods especially adapted for miners use, which they are now offering at less figures than the same goods can be duplicated at retail in any other city in the union. This we can demonstrate to the satisfaction of all.[38]

[37] *Sioux City Weekly Journal*, July 22, 1875.

[38] *Sioux City Weekly Times*, April 17, 1875.

That the suggestion of these papers was acted on is shown by the fact that by the summer of 1875 there were hundreds of miners in the Black Hills. Of these many were Iowans who had gone to the gold district by way of Sioux City. According to the *Iowa State Register,* there was scarcely a town of any size in the State that did not contribute at least "one pilgrim for the apparently foolish journey".[39] Though these miners succeeded in evading the troops and entering the Hills, the government was not content to let them remain there. Instead of attempting to drive them out by force, General George Crook personally visited the gold region. After conversing with the miners to secure their views, Crook issued a proclamation requesting the miners to leave the Hills voluntarily, and suggesting that they hold a meeting on August 10, 1875, to discuss the matter. The meeting was held, as scheduled, at Custer City, and the miners decided to comply peaceably with the proclamation. They left immediately, leaving only a few of their number to care for the property left behind. Lieutenant Colonel Richard I. Dodge, who was present, described the scene as follows: "On the evening of August 10th, the beautiful valley of French Creek, near Custer City, was picturesque with miners' camps. At sunrise on the morning of the 11th, not a man or animal was to be seen. The valley, so lately bustling with life, was still and solitary. Thin wreaths of smoke, arising from expiring camp-fires, were all that remained to tell of the swarm of people which crowded the valley the day before." Dodge estimated that six hundred miners left the Hills at this time.[40]

This wholesale removal had little effect on the situation,

39 *Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), April 2, 1875.

40 Dodge's *The Black Hills,* pp. 112-114.

for miners continued to evade the troops and enter the Hills. Some of these were captured and removed from the region. After being detained as prisoners at some fort for a time they would be brought before a United States commissioner who invariably released them. The miners, in many instances, would then reënter the Black Hills by some circuitous route and hide in the gulches where they could prospect for gold without molestation.[41]

While the government was assiduously endeavoring to keep miners out of the Black Hills, it was also engaged in definitely ascertaining the resources of the region. On March 27, 1875, Walter P. Jenney, a noted geologist, was instructed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to visit the Black Hills and report on their mineral wealth, climate, and natural resources. On May 24, 1875, the expedition left Fort Laramie, Wyoming, with an escort of four hundred troops under command of Lieutenant Colonel Richard I. Dodge. The party remained in the region until October 24, 1875, and after its return Jenney submitted an exhaustive report of his findings. It was conclusively shown that gold was to be found in the Hills in paying quantities.[42] This report aroused wide interest for it corroborated the claims that the Hills were rich in gold and it put to rest the charges that Sioux City and other interested points were promoting a "humbug".

At no place did the Jenney expedition arouse more interest than at Sioux City. Referring to a statement by

[41] *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* September 23, 1875; Tallent's *The Black Hills,* p. 135.

[42] Robinson's *History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians,* p. 416, in the *South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. II, Pt. 2; Jenney's *Report on the Mineral Wealth, Climate, and Rain-Fall, and Natural Resources of the Black Hills of Dakota,* pp. 1-56, in *Senate Executive Documents,* 44th Congress, 1st Session, Doc. No. 51.

Jenney to the effect that gold existed in paying quantities, the *Sioux City Journal* said:

> His language, as to be expected, is guarded but it is clear that his explorations fully sustain the popular belief in regard to the mineral wealth of the country. This result will naturally tend to greatly quicken the desires of the adventuresome to try their luck there, and another season, if not this, we may expect to see thousands flocking thither—treaty or no treaty.[43]

In mentioning the "treaty", the *Journal* was referring to the attempt of the government to negotiate a new treaty with the Indians either to permit miners to enter the Hills or else to purchase the Indian title to the district. Commissioners for the purpose were appointed by the Secretary of the Interior on June 18, 1875. The commission consisted of William B. Allison of Iowa, chairman, Alfred H. Terry, A. Comingo, Samuel D. Hinman, G. P. Beaubias, A. G. Lawrence, and William H. Ashby. The party reached the Red Cloud Agency on September 4, 1875, but it was not until September 20th that the first council of the commission with Indians representing twelve tribes was held. Negotiations continued without success until September 29th, when the council broke up. The younger Indians were unwilling to part with the Hills at any price, while those who were willing to sell set a price which the commissioners considered exorbitant. One of the spokesmen of the Indians demanded $70,000,000 for the region.[44]

The failure of these negotiations was followed by the withdrawal of all military opposition to the occupancy of the Black Hills. Immediately there began a great rush of gold seekers who had been eagerly awaiting the removal

[43] *Sioux City Weekly Journal*, October 21, 1875.

[44] Robinson's *History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians*, pp. 416-421, in th *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. II, Pt. 2.

of the government restriction to enter the region. Although government opposition to the invasion of the Black Hills was now withdrawn, a greater danger confronted the adventurers. The Indians, fearing that their hunting grounds would be taken from them by force, went on the war path early in 1876. There followed a bloody warfare, which lasted about a year and a half. The outstanding event of this Sioux war was the Custer massacre, on June 25, 1876. Though hostilities did not cease until May 6, 1877, a treaty providing for the cession of the Black Hills was negotiated with the Indians, September 23 to October 27, 1876. By the terms of this treaty the Indians were to receive $4,500,000 for the Black Hills region, which was to be opened for legal settlement on February 28, 1877.[45]

Indian hostilities did not stop the migration to the gold region but did have a retarding effect. According to the *Sioux City Tribune*,[46] the Indians were "making it decidedly lively for those who are passing in or out of the Hills, and seem to be lying in wait for unprotected miners all about the settlements. It is probable that mining operations will soon be suspended until next season."[47] Travellers returning to Sioux City from the Hills reported that considerable numbers were leaving the region because of the fear of Indian raids.[48]

But while a few were leaving the Hills, many more were entering in spite of the dangers confronting them. Mrs.

[45] Robinson's *History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians*, pp. 422-445, in the *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. II, Pt. 2; *Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), July 14, September 15, 29, 1876.

[46] Early in 1876 Charles Collins sold the *Sioux City Times* which was thereafter published as the *Sioux City Tribune*.

[47] *Sioux City Tribune* (Weekly), September 8, 1876.

[48] *Sioux City Weekly Journal*, September 7, 1876.

Tallent, in describing the rush to the Black Hills which took place between the fall of 1875 and the summer of 1877, said: "Representatives of every trade and profession under the sun came rushing along, figuratively, tumbling over each other in their headlong haste to be the first to reach the New Eldorado, each individual sanguine of realizing fabulous wealth on reaching the end of his journey." They went in companies or as individuals, in wagons, on horseback, or on foot. As a result of this great inrush of gold seekers in one short year "the whole aspect of the Black Hills was transformed from a wilderness into a scene of busy life, furnishing to those who had seen them in all their primitiveness a striking contrast indeed."

Many of these adventurers fell victims to the Indians—how many will never be known. As Mrs. Tallent said:

> The numerous new-made graves, seen along the various highways into the Hills, marking the scenes of the dark tragedies enacted nearby, revealed in mute but eloquent language, the sad fate of not a few,—graves of the poor victims, whose mutilated bodies were oftentimes found and hastily buried by other pilgrims following in their wake—graves with only a small piece of pine board to serve as a monument to mark the spot, and with no other epitaph than the simple word—"Unknown", inscribed thereon.[49]

Sioux City reaped its share of the benefits resulting from the great migration to the Black Hills. Alive to the possibility of doing a thriving business, representative business men of the city held a meeting early in 1876, at the county auditor's office, "to devise means for making the advantages of Sioux City as a starting and outfitting point for the Black Hills more generally known." Charles Collins was selected to go East "and present the claims and advantages of Sioux City and the Upper Missouri

[49] Tallent's *The Black Hills,* pp. 115-117.

river routes as against the great American desert route via Sidney and Cheyenne." A committee, consisting of Judge A. W. Hubbard, E. W. Skinner, J. L. Follett, Fred T. Evans, and Charles Collins, was selected "to raise funds and make such other arrangements as to them seemed best to carry out the object and spirit of the meeting."[50]

Not only did the Sioux City merchants take steps to reap a harvest from those bound for the Black Hills, but the transportation companies also prepared to do a thriving business. A meeting of the directors of the Sioux City and Black Hills Transportation Company, which had been forced by the government restriction to suspend operations in 1875, was held on March 3, 1876, at the First National Bank. It was decided to resume business immediately, and plans were made to send out the first train about March 15th.[51] As a part of its preparations, the company constructed a large warehouse for storing freight and several stables for the accommodation of stock, at Covington, Nebraska.[52] On April 13, 1876, an expedition consisting of twenty-five wagons and about one hundred and fifty men, outfitted at Sioux City, left Covington for the Black Hills. Six of the wagons belonged to the Sioux City and Black Hills Transportation Company, while the rest belonged to private individuals who had congregated from all quarters. John Gordon accompanied the party as guide.[53]

From this modest beginning grew one of the largest transportation companies operating between the Black

[50] *Sioux City Weekly Times,* February 19, 1876.

[51] *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* March 4, 1876.

[52] *Sioux City Tribune* (Weekly), March 31, 1876.

[53] *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* April 13, 1876.

Hills and outside points. Its business was promoted by the fact that gold seekers found it a protection against hostile Indians to travel with the company's large parties which were sent out every few days in the spring of 1876. As the *Sioux City Tribune* said:

> Parties intending to go to the Hills hereafter will find it greatly to their convenience and protection against the Indians to go by the company's trains; for the reason that as the grass becomes abundant on the prairies, Indian raids will become numerous. The reds are already beginning to put on the war paint, we learn from late advices, and intend to urge a vigorous, bloody and relentless war upon Black Hills pilgrims. Parties going to the Hills should bear this in mind, and take care to go in large bodies and well armed. This can be done by joining the transportation company's trains, better than in any other way.[54]

Until the late summer of 1876, this company continued to send wagon trains directly to the Hills from Sioux City. In August, 1876, the company was reorganized with Fred T. Evans and John Hornick as the chief members of the firm. Instead of hauling freight and passengers by wagon from Sioux City, these were first transported up the Missouri River to Fort Pierre, thence overland to the Hills.[55] On February 7, 1877, Evans, Hornick and Company entered into an agreement with the Dakota Southern Railroad, which extended from Sioux City to Yankton. By this agreement the railroad was to transport passengers and freight from Sioux City to Yankton. There a transfer was to be made to the boats of the Missouri River Transportation Company which would carry the passengers and freight to Fort Pierre. Thence they were to be carried overland to the Black Hills by Evans and Hornick's Freight Line. At the same time a definite schedule

54 *Sioux City Tribune* (Weekly), April 28, 1876.

55 *Sioux City Tribune* (Weekly), August 18, 1876.

of rates for passengers and freight was agreed on. The first class passenger rate from Sioux City to Yankton was $3.00, from Yankton to Fort Pierre $10.00, and from Fort Pierre to either Deadwood, Custer, or Crook City, in the Black Hills, $10.00. The rate for one hundred pounds of freight from Sioux City to Yankton was to be $.25, from Yankton to Fort Pierre $.75, and from Fort Pierre to Deadwood $3.00. It was also announced that the sixty-one mile trip by rail from Sioux City to Yankton would consume four hours, the boat ride from Yankton to Fort Pierre, a distance of two hundred and ninety miles would take sixty hours, while the overland journey, from Fort Pierre to Crook City, a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles, would take from four to six days. Trains were to run daily, boats tri-weekly and wagon trains weekly, or oftener, if necessary.[56]

This firm of Evans and Hornick continued to carry on a lucrative business with the Black Hills until 1888, when together with other transportation companies, it was forced out of business by the competition of the railroads which had entered the region. In 1878, the shipping point of the company was changed from Sioux City to Chamberlain, Dakota, to connect with the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad. The extent of this company's operations may be realized from the fact that it employed from one thousand to fifteen hundred men and wagons, from two thousand to three thousand oxen, and from one thousand to fifteen hundred mules.[57]

Another transportation line connecting Sioux City with the Black Hills was the Witcher Company. Compared to the firm of Evans and Hornick it was a small concern.

[56] *Sioux City Tribune* (Weekly), February 9, 1877.

[57] Tallent's *The Black Hills*, pp. 189, 190.

This line had also begun operations in 1875 but had been forced to suspend its activities because of the government restrictions. Up to February, 1877, N. L. Witcher, who, with his sons, composed the firm, had completed fourteen trips to the Black Hills. Because he used oxen exclusively to pull his wagons and because of his speed in transporting freight, he was familiarly known in the Hills as "the lightning bull freighter". Witcher hauled his freight and supplies to the Black Hills by way of Yankton and Fort Pierre.[58]

Tom Philips was another Sioux City individual who engaged to some extent in transportation between that city and the Black Hills. On April 14, 1876, he arrived at Custer City, in the Black Hills, with a party of one hundred and sixty-four men.[59] No definite record of the extent of his activities is available. But he was still engaged in the transportation business in 1877, as the following statement in the *Sioux City Journal* shows:

> Persons bound for the Hills are arriving in Sioux City by nearly every train from the east, and already quite a company have assembled here. Tom Philips was engaged yesterday in putting his light train in moving order, though he will probably not get away before Monday next.[60]

Sioux City capitalists were also interested in a project to build a railroad from Sioux City to the Black Hills, by way of the Niobrara Valley of Nebraska. Their idea was not only to secure the trade of the Black Hills for Sioux City but incidentally to tap a rich farming territory. The company, which was known as the Covington, Columbus and Black Hills Railroad, was running trains between

58 *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* June 15, 1876, February 1, 1877; *Sioux City Tribune* (Weekly), January 26, 1877; Tallent's *The Black Hills,* p. 190.

59 *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* April 27, 1876.

60 *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* February 22, 1877.

Covington and Ponca, Nebraska, by the fall of 1876. Passengers were ferried across the Missouri River to and from Sioux City. Among the citizens of Sioux City prominently interested in this railroad were A. W. Hubbard, Eli Robinson, Wm. Adams, and D. E. Davenport. The company had constructed only twenty-six miles of railroad by 1880 when further construction was suspended.[61] It was not until 1885 that the Black Hills were reached by a railroad. By the end of that year the Fremont, Elkhorn and Missouri Valley Railroad reached Buffalo Gap, and the next year was extended to Rapid City.[62] The building of this railroad, however, was not a Sioux City enterprise.

The peak of the Black Hills gold rush was reached in the spring of 1877. Commenting on the large numbers who were going to the Hills, the *Sioux City Tribune* said:

> The number of Black Hills teams passing through at this early date, is remarkable. Covered wagons are going through town at every hour of the day. The number of men to a wagon will average about three. Besides these, a greater number are going up on boats and by rail to Yankton, who will depend on securing transportation at Fort Pierre. With the present rush to that region there is little danger of trouble with Indians. There will be an army of men extending from the Missouri river to the Hills, for the next four months.[63]

But this great rush did not continue as long as the *Tribune* predicted, and soon the influx of gold seekers to the Black Hills practically ceased. All the available claims

[61] *Sioux City Weekly Times,* January 1, 1876; *Sioux City Tribune* (Weekly), November 10, 1876, June 15, 1877; Shuman's *Statistical Report of the Railroads in the United States,* pp. 370, 371, 412, in the *Tenth Census of the United States,* 1880, Vol. IV.

[62] *Resources of Dakota* (Published by the Dakota Commissioner of Immigration, 1887), pp. 9, 12, 244.

[63] *Sioux City Tribune* (Weekly), April 13, 1877.

had been taken by this time, and nothing was left for newcomers. Writing from the Hills under date of June 4, 1877, W. H. Wright, a special correspondent of the *Sioux City Journal* said, "Immigration has about ceased into the Hills. Those coming in with freight trains say there are none on the road."[64] Thereafter Sioux City had little direct interest in the Black Hills except to furnish supplies for those who were already in that region.

As has been true in the history of every gold field, the fortunes of the Black Hills gold seekers varied greatly. Some quickly gained the dreamed of wealth, but many more returned from the Hills poorer than when they went, disappointed and embittered by their experiences. The *Northern Vindicator* spoke truthfully when it said, in 1876, that "undoubtedly the first ones in the diggings will go away rich but the majority of those who go had better stay at home and mind their knitting."[65]

As a rule the Sioux City papers published only stories telling of rich gold discoveries, with the purpose of promoting migration to the Hills. Among the successful miners from Sioux City was Thomas E. Phillips who returned to that city after five months in the region. He had "struck it rich" in the Deadwood district, and had a pound and a half of "shot gold" to exhibit as evidence of his good fortune.[66] His story was typical of many that appeared in the Sioux City papers.

But on one occasion a story of quite a different character was published in the *Tribune,* with the following comment: "In these days when every report reaching us from the Black Hills is freighted with glowing reports of

64 *Sioux City Weekly Journal,* June 21, 1877.

65 *Northern Vindicator* (Weekly, Estherville), February 5, 1876.

66 *Sioux City Tribune* (Weekly), August 4, 1876.

the richness of the country and the opportunities for money making, it is refreshing to hear the wail of a thoroughly homesick man, who went out with a gunny sack expecting to fill it with the precious metal and get back home a millionaire in a month.'' It then published a letter written from Custer City, January 20, 1876, by a Denver man to a friend which read as follows:

> This is the devil's own country. If you have a grain of charity in your soul, send me $25. Don't say you haven't it. If you can't get it otherwise, go to church and steal it out of the contribution-box, and then you wouldn't have half the sin on your soul that you will should you leave me here. Bad luck to this country.[67]

These stories show that there were two sides to the Black Hills gold rush. It was only natural in view of the great influx of gold seekers, many of whom had no experience in mining or in facing the hardships of out-door life, that comparatively few should gain wealth while the greater part should fail. Those who failed, on their return from the Hills, sought to create the impression that the whole excitement was a hoax and a humbug. They were not justified in this, for statistics show that a considerable amount of gold was being produced in the Hills at the time the gold fever was at its height. In 1877, it was estimated that the gold secured from quartz amounted to $1,500,000 and that from placers $1,000,000.[68]

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[67] *Sioux City Tribune* (Weekly), March 24, 1876.

[68] Appletons' *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, pp. 245, 246.

A TYPICAL IOWA PIONEER COMMUNITY[1]

I

We have come together on the scene where two generations of men have worked, struggled, and won, to pay tribute to them, to render, in some small measure, due homage. Although this period is short, it is an epitome of that history which mankind has been writing for untold thousands of years. It marks the presence of settled industry, intellectual and religious effort, and coöperation in maintaining civilization and the agencies which make it and men what they are.

But we do more than recall the men and the work of the past. We look confidently to the welfare, happiness, and progress, in both the present and the future, of those now here and those who are to succeed our forebears and ourselves upon these scenes.

The dedication, to public purposes, of a liberal portion of the rich soil of this township and county is, after all, only the continuance and extension of the policy inaugurated here from that day in 1843 when the first sturdy, high-spirited Vermont settler made his way far into the region and used his strength and enterprise to collect and furnish the materials for the rude building at the confluence of two rivers to be known as Fort Des Moines, on a spot destined soon to become the capital and later, the metropolis of a great State.

1 An address delivered at the dedication of the Public Park at Carlisle, Warren County, Iowa, May 13, 1922, by George F. Parker.

II

It was only ten years earlier that the white man had gained the right to cross the Mississippi. Nor can we forget, as we are sometimes prone to do, that our people were the beneficiaries of that settled policy of defense started when the great charter of this West of ours became effective upon the passage, under the insistence of George Washington, of the Ordinance of 1787 which dedicated to settlement and to freedom the then existing, but unknown, unsurveyed, boundaries of the Northwest Territory, a policy which was extended to the possessions enlarged by the later purchase of Louisiana. From that time forward, the policy of neglect was abandoned and the helping hand of a new and great government was given to its people wherever, within the new boundaries, their men and women, impelled by adventure, desire to extend their country, or whatever other motive, were led or followed one another. Hitherto, in the process of our making, the settler had gone, upon his own motion, into a chosen part of the colonial wilderness, taking his own risks as to life, property, and association. Fort Des Moines was then only an earnest that, discounting these perils during which military government was so long feared by the Anglo-Saxon, the central government was ready to protect and defend those who were extending its conquests and its blessings.

Years before Carlisle was thought of, John D. Parmelee had gone up and down our small streams, had planned grist mills, picked sites and timber for sawmills, laid out rude roads, made fords, and was ready to draw by ox-team, over what was known as the Dragoon Trail, the materials which entered into the construction of the rude fortress which came to be known as Fort Des

Moines. It is fitting, too, that the land upon which this park stands, should, like its twin neighbor over the county line, bear, in its township, the name of Allen, the first captain under whose protecting aid these neighborhoods started on their way through the world.

III

This changed policy had a deeper significance than indicated at first sight, as an element in the development of the Union and the creation and diffusion of patriotic sentiment. In the peopling of the colonies, nothing was assured from the government whether of the mother country or the dependent colonies. Men did the best they could to defend each other, but the machine was local, feeble, and ill-balanced. The absence of fixed land laws; of established, recognized forms of defence; of relations, commercial or otherwise, with neighboring communities; and of facilities for travel or transport—all combined to make titles doubtful and common helpfulness next to impossible. But when the Federal government became a real, paramount power, ready and pledged to act for its citizens, when it preceded the settler to assure his claims to the soil upon which he chose to sit down; and when the man moving from one settlement, State, or county, to another carried with him the same ideas and institutions that he had hitherto enjoyed, the relations of men to government and government to men became at once more stable and the growth of attachment for surroundings and neighbors was more natural and clear. When, in addition, there was a completed fort in front so that they were not compelled to begin for themselves the building of frail, insecure stockades upon

wholly unfamiliar scenes, the relation of one district to another was changed.

The foundations of human attachments were at once so broadened and strengthened as to make it inevitable, in due time, that the larger patriotism should swallow up the smaller. Almost unconsciously, when the crisis came, the new confidence created in the rude settlements an understanding and a sentiment in favor of a united country. Men were likely to think long and earnestly before imperiling these new safeguards. While these developments long preceded the doctrines so well inculcated by Lincoln and Douglas who, in their turn, had followed Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay, it was soon clear that the Union was the one thing that must be perfected and maintained, whatever else might happen. One of these days, when we shall get away from skillfully made fictions, our people will realize that the Civil War was fought with this fundamental idea rather than as the outcome of some emotional movement, however philanthropic, for the abolition of slavery. It will then be seen that the latter was the incident, not the object. The sooner our generation and its successors find out these things the better will our history be understood.

As our neighborhood lay in a state of nature, it was not of much use until man came along to help in its completion. No adequate idea can be given by description of the magnificence of the scene presented by the physical characteristics, not only of the immediate neighborhood which only those privileged to view it could realize but in the whole of this wonderful valley of the Mississippi when first seen by the eye of civilized man, whose rudest, least sentimental settler could see from the beginning, not only what it then was in the rough, but could imagine what it would be when human effort had

been concentrated upon it. In some respects, it has performed much of its early promise, though it has still far to go before in obedience to the command, it is really subdued. Its geography, its geology, its fauna and flora have indeed been examined, though imperfectly, by the eye of science; but the spectacle of so great a wilderness, and that of its successor, the prairie, with its dimensions and possibilities, with so many qualities useful to man as well as beautiful in view of both reality and imagination, are not wholly appreciated. These lie as fairly within the scope of the student as does the story of human endeavor which has had the duty and the task of so changing the outward characteristics of this immense area as to make it almost unrecognizable. The recollections and stories of hardship, warfare, jealousy, and constant movement have been so much before us as to lead to the belief that they were something new in the history of mankind whereas they are only the incident to human restlessness.

IV

The origin and descent of the land on which your new park is situated is simple. Nicholas Beezley came here from Illinois late in 1847; and in February, 1848, he moved upon his new claim, where he built a hewed log house about 30 rods east and 15 rods south of the Stumbo homestead. On the 30th of October, when the land office opened, he formally entered the northwest quarter of Section 2, Township 77, Range 23—152 acres. Upon his death in 1851, it was inherited by his son, Jesse, then about nine years old. At the latter's death in December, 1861, it was bought by my father, Thomas W. Parker, who consolidated his farms, held both until

1866, and then sold the whole to William Stumbo, who had settled across both the North and Des Moines rivers, about three or four miles away, near the town of Dudley.

My personal relation to it came soon after we moved into the neighborhood in 1854. We settled first on an 80-acre farm just under a mile from the school house. But my father had a gift, not uncommon among pioneers: a positive genius for finding the choicest land for farms, and, being at the same time intelligent and ambitious, he exercised these qualities with an enterprise then unusual. You know the quality of the site here; if you will recall that larger, improved Fort Des Moines, a few miles to the westward, you will see another farm in which he used this high power of selection. That was the largest of his four Iowa farms, as the one you see here was the first. I have, therefore, the pride of a son in knowing that these gifts of his were so conspicuous that his successors, looking about for attractive places for public monuments, approved his judgment. These things please me the more because, in a boyish way, I was privileged to have some part in the hard and exacting work that helped to make each of these actual homes what it was, and to realize that, more than any man I have known among almost uncounted thousands, my father knew, from early experience and by instinct, how to bring out the qualities inherent in a prairie soil. His interest in everything of a public nature enabled him to do a conspicuous work in the neighborhoods in which he lived.

V

The log house was probably succeeded by a frame one as early as 1856 or 1857. Just before this time my father

had built his own log house further down the road, so that I began to pass the Beezley home on my way to school in the village. By this time Jesse, although he had grown to be a big boy of thirteen or fourteen would, with the friendliness incident to the country, wait for me and we, the great big awkward lad and the short-legged, sturdy child of eight, would trudge along together. At first, he was far ahead of me in studies; but, as often happened in our country schools, we finally came into the same classes in reading, spelling, and those other branches in which strict classification was next to impossible.

Thus, some years before the Civil War, which was to prove fatal to so many of our growing and most promising young fellows, we had become such close friends that, many a time, Jesse would intervene to protect his young friend from the stronger, more active boys who, then as now, often had a gift for making life a burden to the small, weak, or timid. Under such a plan many a smaller boy would find early admission into the various games of old cat, or rounders, the predecessors of baseball, or into bull pen, or Antony Over, even, on occasions, into marbles, while the running games, then the resort of all ages, were always so open that little opportunity and no desire remained for exclusion. There was then, as is always the case in a small neighborhood, a group of these dominating larger lads but, as in the long run boys always are inclined to be, they were generous in their welcome to smaller mates when they could fairly do their part. It was only natural that these big boys should at once volunteer for the war and, among them, if I remember aright, the earliest was my big friend and chum, Jesse Beezley. Certainly he was our first sacrifice to that always insatiable lust of war, for he

died in camp in December after our company had marched away from here. In reality, your park is, in the best sense, a monument to your soldiers in the Civil War period. If in time to come you shall erect a plain tablet bearing their names, that of the early owner of this land will lead all the rest.

VI

How well I, grown then to the mature age of thirteen, remember that marching away of our boys, on the 19th of August, 1861—a day always since marked in my calendar of red letter days. All the patriotic feelings as well as much of the hysteria of a nation had become aroused. Our immediate contingent of Company B, Tenth Iowa Infantry, numbered from forty to fifty men. Its Captain was Martin C. Randleman who had done good service in the Mexican War, ended fourteen years before, while the second lieutenant, Owen Adkins, had had a like experience. When they started from Carlisle, led by our newly improvised fife and drum corps, with its music strange to our ears, they had to march about three miles down to the Des Moines River at Dudley, which as the first of Uncle Jerry Church's Iowa town sites, had been drowned out, abandoned, and its few remaining houses removed to the safety of the Carlisle hills which in those days were far more formidable than the Seven Hills surrounding Rome became when, in due time, we learned something of the adventures of Romulus and Remus with the friendly, nourishing she-wolf.

If I should live a hundred or a thousand years, I could not see or take part in a more solemn and impressive ceremony. Here was assembled everybody from our part of the county, and many from across North River, young

and old, fathers and mothers, boys and girls. For the first time in their lives all were taking part in a military pageant, under the command of their own neighbors as officers. Slowly and sadly, the procession made its way to the ferry where the boys were to cross and march onward to the railroad, perhaps still a hundred miles distant, thence to their training-camp somewhere on the Mississippi, fifty miles further. When all were assembled, led by the ministers of each denomination, the class-leader, the elders, the Sunday-school superintendents and teachers, and followed by the pupils in every kind of school, each and all knelt by the stream-side to listen to public prayers. As by one impulse, these were succeeded by private devotions from each person, young and old. Few demonstrations could be more genuine or more solemn than this and probably none who took part in it ever forgot either its supreme dignity or its significance. This ceremony, natural as it was, united the people of the neighborhood in closer bonds than any law or formal covenant could have done. Nor was it merely an outburst of sentiment. From that time for four years every man and woman and child in the village and its surroundings carried into life the feelings there generated and expressed.

This interest in our little contingent of soldiers grew year by year. From the point of view of money, our people were poor but, like the hired hand who believed that he could care for his employer's daughter, because he was "chock full of day's works," so this universal gift was used to plough, sow and plant; to cultivate and garner the crops on the absent soldier's farm; to repair houses, provide wood and cut it ready for use; to do what they could for the wives—always known as war widows—and the children, lest any should suffer by the

absence of the father or son, the dependence of the helpless or the young in this work of making a new community. No more useful or positive demonstration of real charity was ever taught to these people who, struggling in the days of beginnings, by a common impulse, thus made themselves practical Christians. So, out of war and misfortune, there came to those humble men and women, pioneers who had separated themselves from the rest of the world, practical lessons in service that went far to neutralize or compensate for the hardship, violence, hatred, and wrong by which they were surrounded in the most terrific civil war known to history.

The sympathy aroused when casualty lists told of the killed or wounded was only premonitory of the joy that welcomed the end of the conflict and the return as individuals or in companies, of soldiers to their families and their civil duties. All these passions and emotions were shown here on the surroundings which to-day are filled with joy because of duty done by the successors of these men and women in the dedication here of a memorial intended to exemplify the public spirit developed among these pioneers and their successors on the farms and houses scattered all about them.

VII

In truth, we do more than celebrate the past: we are trying to anticipate the future in providing for the instruction and entertainment of the men, women, and children upon whom we must rely for thought and effort in the coming generations. I hope that, in doing this, we shall not fail, both by example and precept, to impress upon these people, as they come along, the idea that, as they have inherited great and good things, they

must maintain them; that it is not enough to lay out this choice piece of land as a playground for young and old, for resident and stranger, but it must be maintained and improved.

I should like to look forward to a public spirit like that, which under the working of time, memory, and effort, has brought forth this venture. It should insure the adoption of permanent, systematic movements for its maintenance and improvement. If each girl and woman, each boy and man—persons of all ages and employments—shall insist, as by a common impulse, upon coming here once every year to do something that is wanted and needed, to dig or enrich the ground, to plant a tree, to improve a road, to help in keeping fences and walls in order, this park will command a general use and inspire a pride that will make its way into every home within its influence. If every such person will make up his mind to fix and keep up a high standard of order, neatness, and cleanliness, the work can never lag or fail. While your park may seem small, you may all recall with pride that it is much larger in area, relatively to numbers, than like playgrounds in the great cities of the world and resolve that it shall be made a model, where discipline, pride, and a real personal interest shall be assured. It is well to have rules, it may be necessary to have guards, but the best rules are those inherent in the determination of all to do a part by keeping order, enforcing neatness upon himself, and respecting public property. The most effective guards should be those who use it day by day, year in and year out. In a few years, you will have here gardens that will be little less than miracles of beauty. Even in the grimmest season of the year, they will constantly recall, in anticipation, the spirit and sacrifice of your predecessors and give you

something to look at and study that will honor both those who provide and those who receive, as its existence already reflects credit upon those about you whose thought, industry, and sacrifice have made it possible.

It will, I am sure, become a place for real use. I expect to hear, ere long, that provision has been made for every kind of game that shall fit the place and the changing seasons. Baseball and football will, no doubt, remain the standard sports and I hope that your local victories may promote pride and the cultivation of skill, and your defeats teach you that patience and forbearance incident to the high compliment conveyed by the phrase "play the game"—that ought to be added to the commandments. You will probably soon naturalize, or revive, if you have not done so already, wrestling, hockey, basket ball, tennis, and croquet, provide for marbles, and introduce anew that interesting old game known as bowls whose enticements led Rip Van Winkle on into his immortal sleep and the happy resurrection which followed. I wish I could see you revive, as significant of the past, even if only for exhibition purposes, the extinct games that I knew in my boyish days and thus add to the variety which keeps life interesting. All of these games you will practice so well and so sedulously, as to demonstrate again how an outdoor active life brings content and tends to curb or restrain the restlessness to which we, as a people, are too prone. You will also have impressed upon young and old, the fact that the people which plays best is best equipped for work and for fighting, if for the preservation of ideas, institutions, and firesides, the latter shall become a necessity.

I look with confidence to your managers when it comes to making provisions for winter sports. Your situation will enable you to have a long and safe toboggan ending

at the river and running, according to my memory, for some little distance on the stream itself or along its banks. In our climate it is important to bear in mind that cold weather and snow hold our people in their toils during about five months of the year, when provision may be made for the use of the facilities of your park.

In like manner, if the Ol' Swimmin' Hole, just up the river from the bridge still persists, I hope that you can either annex it permanently or so use it as to preserve to future generations one of the great play spots of the childhood and youth of myself and my fellows. I was once firmly convinced that nowhere upon its surface did the earth contain a deeper bit of fresh water with so many attractions or that could afford more fun to real boys. Another of its great merits was the fact that, at least within my time, no boy was ever drowned in it.

VIII

On the whole, this early life of our people, passed as it was in God's Great Outdoors, was active and full of the most exacting of hard, manual labor; but it was wholesome and fairly happy. We had to contend with many and serious drawbacks; we often dealt with human weakness in its worst and most discouraging forms; we lived in the midst of an isolation, the extent of which was never known among active minded persons or classes or anywhere other than in the most highly-developed forms of stoicism or monasticism; we were the victims of a theology that bred intolerance and of a bigotry, a narrowness, and a selfishness that approached hypocrisy; we often suffered physical deprivations in the midst of a potentiality of plenty unknown to history; and yet out of all these conditions and in such an environment

we did not develop or promote more than the average proportion of scandal or of immorality, either open or hid, or of that pretension and self-righteousness that so weaken a people whether they have grown or settled upon a scene, or have come together from older surroundings.

I suppose we all think, as no doubt our forerunners saw, that the strength of these new communities would have been increased if we had drawn our population from more varied origins; if into our religion and education had entered more of the elements necessary for a larger intellectual and moral development; if we had been less truculent, somewhat less confident about our political forms of speech and action; rather less devoted to what we now know were impracticable and outworn conceptions; and a bit more critical of the men we trusted. We did need broader ideas, a recognition of the wholesomeness and the necessity of a better and larger culture, and more of the all round influence that go to make up the life of mankind. If we could have escaped somewhat earlier from that sombreness, which was often oppressive, the grayness that even then was so apparent to the thoughtful, our growth, on purely material lines, might, perhaps, have proceeded less rapidly, but also had an evenness that would have made us, at an earlier day, both more human and more Christian.

We should have known better how to absorb great contingents of foreigners, somewhat less sophisticated than ourselves, rather simpler in their outward show of human traits, people who had developed by a sort of mystic process some of the qualities in industry and in training that we have since had to acquire slowly, with awkwardness and its attendant pain. Perhaps if we had had more discipline, less truculence, less boasting

about size, we should have been less easy now as a prey for wily but ignorant politicians, for self-seekers and bigots in religion; for adventurers and pretenders in industry, for self-assumed leaders whose first resort in time of stress is to create a grandmotherly government and then advise everybody to run under its protecting apron. Many things might have been incorporated into our structure naturally that now come as the result of growing pains deferred so late that they must now be associated with fear and apprehension.

But whatever might have happened we are what we are and so must take ourselves as we find ourselves, and, like our fathers, make our way out as best we can. An advantage now is that we can the easier recognize and see our crudenesses; that we are somewhat less cocksure than our predecessors; that many things which they looked upon as ideas have come down in the scale of life until they are only notions; and that, above all things, we ought, with these new advantages, to be the better fitted to play a part in the great world and not limit ourselves to our own neighborhood gardens.

But, in any event, whatever remains to be done, whatever we try to do, we must never forget that the foundations were laid by those people whose work we to-day commemorate in this distinctive improvement—one probably unprecedented in a community of its size and numbers—in which, with all solemnity, we dedicate to-day this park as a public memorial.

IX.

This village of ours, set in beautiful and attractive surroundings, with its attendant neighborhood, was small and, in its comparative relation to the rest of the world

it has not changed. But it was typical. Its people were active, industrious, enterprising, God-fearing, helpful to each other, and only exacting in the demand that every man should, within his powers and opportunities, help himself. They were attached to the principles and policies that underlay our social and political ideas; were not the victims of a vague or open discontent; and were anxious to know about the world in which they lived—a world, which for them, as for others, must always, like charity, begin at home.

To one who is descending the slopes of life, it is a pleasure to look back upon association with the men and women of such a day, to recall their virtues, to overlook their faults, to smile at their foibles, to feel that they had the loves and hates, the jealousies and ambitions, the hopes and fears, that marked them as real human beings. After the lapse of many years they stand out before me with a distinctness that emphasizes the sentiment expressed by Charlotte Bronte' when, writing of Arnold of Rugby, she said: "One feels thankful to know that it has been permitted to any man to live such a life." In like manner, I think we should all be thankful that we have been permitted to live among these plain, unpretending people who, in our serene Iowa air, on our fertile soil, and among scenes whose attractive and primitive qualities we can recall, never overlooked or forgot their patriotic principles and their religion.

GEORGE F. PARKER

NEW YORK CITY

IOWA TROOPS IN THE SULLY CAMPAIGNS

The following contributions give much interesting information concerning the experiences of the troops on the Northwest Border during the time of the Civil War. Their purpose there was the protection of the settlements against depredations and outrages by the Indians such as those perpetrated by the Sioux in Minnesota in 1862.

Henry J. Wieneke and Amos R. Cherry were members of Company B, Fourteenth Iowa Infantry, while Josiah F. Hill was enrolled in Company A of the same regiment. These two companies, together with Company C, were mustered into service at Iowa City on October 23-25, 1861, companies D to K inclusive being mustered in at Davenport during the first week of November. The regiment was not united, however, for the three companies[1] at Iowa City were ordered to Fort Randall, Dakota Territory, while the remainder of the regiment was later sent south.

On September 18, 1862, the three companies stationed at Fort Randall were withdrawn from the Fourteenth Regiment and were organized into a battalion which was intended to be the nucleus of a new regiment—the Forty-first Iowa Infantry. This plan was later abandoned and when the Seventh Iowa Cavalry was organized in April, 1863, the Forty-first Iowa Infantry Battalion was assigned to it as companies K, L, and M.

It was during the time the three companies were a part of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry that they participated in

1 For an account of the service of these three companies see the *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion,* Vol. II, p. 721, Vol. IV, p. 1253, Vol. V, pp. 1159, 1160.

the campaign of General Sully against the Sioux in 1864.

Wieneke and Cherry were mustered out in October, 1864, at the close of their three year enlistment period. Hill had re-enlisted and served in Company K of the re-organized Seventh Iowa Cavalry, being mustered out on June 22, 1866. His letter has to do with events a year later than those described in the other manuscripts. In the *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers* the age of Josiah F. Hill is given as 24 at the time of his enlistment in 1861. This is an error, since Hill was born in 1827. In 1850 in company with two brothers, Lorenzo D. Dutton and Jerome Dutton, and others, Hill made an overland trip to California from Scott County, Iowa. A journal of this trip, kept by Jerome Dutton and edited by Claude W. Dutton, his son, was published, together with some letters, in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IX, pp. 447-483. The letter here published was written to Lorenzo D. Dutton and was sent to the State Historical Society for publication by Claude W. Dutton.

The extract from the diary of Henry J. Wieneke was presented to the Society by Mr. Wieneke himself who is still living at Iowa City, Iowa. The Cherry manuscripts are available for publication through the kindness of Mr. Cherry's son, Eugene Cherry of Iowa City. In preparing the manuscripts for the printers no attempt has been made to make uniform the capitalization and punctuation in the various letters, diaries, and narratives. In case of doubt capital letters have been retained for nouns, since there seems to have been a tendency to begin all nouns with capital letters, but there is much lack of uniformity in this. Capitals have been used to begin sentences even though they were not used in the original and in the diary capitals have been used to begin phrases and groups

of words which present separate ideas, even though there are no complete sentences. Punctuation has been added only when necessary for the interpretation of the text.

THE EDITOR

I

THE NARRATIVE OF HENRY J. WIENEKE

In fall of 1861 call was issued for 14th Iowa Inftry Regiment. Co A B & C 1st Battallion were enlisted at and in vicinity of Iowa City and sworn into service Oct 23rd 1861 and were ordered to Fort Randall Dakota to relieve Regular troops there, with promise that Ballance of Regiment would be enlisted during winter. In spring whole 14th Infantry would be sent South. Our Battallion started from Iowa City on afternoon of Oct 28th to march across State to Council Bluffs and up the Missouri Valley to Fort Randall Dakota.

Our Rations consisted of Bacon Flour Rice Beans & Coffee. We marched all day and baked & cooked near all night. We marched across the State to Council Bluffs weather getting cold and wintry and by time of reaching Sioux City were facing Blizzards and below zero weather. Nov 29th reached Vermillion the Capital of Dakota in Blizzard with heavy Snow 32° below zero. Dec 7th reached Fort Randall. Ground covered with Snow 1 foot deep. Camped on High Plain awaiting the withdrawal of Regulars. Fort Randall[2] is built of hewed Cottonwood Logs in oblong Square on west Bank of the Missouri River.

Here was spent wintr of 1861 and Summer of 1862 wait-

2 Fort Randall was established in 1856 and abandoned on July 22, 1884. It was on the right bank of the Missouri River about one hundred miles above Yankton and two hundred and fifty miles by river from Sioux City.—*South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII, pp. 84, 85.

ing orders to be relieved and go South. Instead on 1st of Dec 1862 Co B recd orders to move to Ft Piere[3] a Trading Post of the American Fir Co on west Bank of the Missouri River. Meantime the Sioux Indians had massacred the White Setlers of Minnesota, taking women and children Prisoners carrying them into Dakota where they were terribly mistreated. Our march to the north was facing Snows and Blizzards for seven days. We marched through Snow Drifts with Thermometer below zero. When reaching Ft. Piere found Quarters too small. The Company was divided 28 men with Capt Mahanna went to Fort La Framboise[4] a competing Fir Co where we camped out until the Logs were cut and draged across the Ice of Missouri River to build log walls of 6 ft high with Dirt Roof, for our winter quarters. In Spring of 1863 our Battallion was transferred to 41st Iowa Infantry thus frustrating any hopes of being sent South. During that winter we rescued and sent South 76 white women and children that the Sioux had carried from Eastern Minnesota to the Missouri River.

In Spring of 1863 our Company moved to east side of Missouri River taking charge of Sioux prisoners sent from

[3] Fort Pierre, named in honor of Pierre Chouteau, was established near the junction of the Teton and Missouri rivers in 1832. In 1855 it was purchased from the American Fur Company by the United States government for a military post. It seems to have been virtually abandoned two years later and much of the material used in the construction of Fort Randall. The site, however, remained as a landmark and in 1859 a new stockade was built about two miles north of the old fort. It was probably at this new trading post that the Iowa troops were stationed.—Wilson's *Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors* in the *South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. I, pp. 203-311, 369-371.

[4] Fort La Framboise was built as a fur trading station for La Barge, Harkness and Company in 1862.—*South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. I, pp. 362, 365, 366, 369, 370.

Minnesota and late in fall were set to building Fort Sully[5] on the north east Bank of the Missouri River near where the city of Pierre now stands.

In spring of 1864 orders came transfering our Battallion Cos A, B, & C 41st Iowa Infantry to Cos K, L, & M 7th Iowa Cavalry and ordered to prepare to join 1st Brigade under Command of Genl Alf Sully[6] for expedition against the Sioux nation.

On June 14th 1864 our Battallion was once more united by the arrival of Cos K & M (after two years separation)[7]

June 26th our Horses arrived, and the 1st Brigade was formed

6th Iowa Infantry	1000
Brackets Battallion	400
Nebraska Jayhawkers	200
3rd Battallion 7th Cavy	400
Co Dakota Cavy	100
Total	2100 Men

June 27th. Started and mchd to Asneboin Creek our Co L on advance Guard. Capt Feilner[8] Topographical Engineer accompanied by 2 Scouts passed to examine geological formations on Banks of Creek where Indians in ambush shot Capt Feilner instantly kiling him. The 2 scouts gallopd back reporting when Capt and part of Sioux

5 This is the old Fort Sully built on the north bank of the Missouri River just above the head of Farm Island only a short distance from Fort Pierre. It was established in 1863 and abandoned on July 25, 1866, for the new Fort Sully.—*South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. I, pp. 310, 311, 371, 372, 373, Vol. VIII, p. 87.

6 General Alfred Sully.

7 Company L had been stationed at Fort Pierre and Fort La Framboise.

8 John Feilner.—See Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903*, Vol. I, p. 416.

City Cavy Co were ordered to capture the Indians which they did after a race of 8 miles surrounding the 3 Indians in a Buffalo Waller killing them and cutting off their Heads carried them in Gunny Bag to Camp where they were stuck on poles as a warning.

During the Evening we were visited by a terrific Deluge of Rain and Hail before or during the formation of our Camp and water coming down the Creek six feet deep, washing every thing and upsetting three wagons that had been left in the Creek bottom thoroughly soaking all as the wind upset the few tents that had been set up.

A march of 32 miles brot us to Swan Lake where in Camp we awaited arrival of the Second Brigade of Minnesota troups which came to Camp on July 7th.

July 8th Started early. Day very hot. Arriving at Long Creek had to build Bridge to cross and soon came in sight of the ever welcome Missouri river, where were four Steamboats unloading supplies for troops and to build Fort Rice[9]. Here we found a large flat Boat which was used as a Ferry having a long Cable fastened up at bend of River thus by aid of Current of River Boat was swung from Bank to bank. On 9th with aid of Steamers we were transfered to west Bank of the Muddy and in spite of Mud we did sure enjoy drink of water without so much *alkali.*

On the steamers were 4 Companies of the 30th Wisconsin Infantry who were to garrison the new Fort. Same troops that had been with us last winter at Ft. Sully. Here also were joined by long train of 120 wagons of Emigrants from Minnesota, on way to the gold Fields of Montana

[9] Fort Rice was built in 1864 on the right or west bank of the Missouri River a short distance above the mouth of the Cannon Ball River, about twenty-eight miles from Bismarck. It is still in use.—*South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. VIII, p. 90.

asking protection of Genl Sully across the plains of Dakota to the Yellow Stone.

July 14th. Three Steamers with Supplies for the Army passed up the River on way to Yellow Stone to await our arrival there.

Sunday July 18th. Grand Review and Inspection of all troops.

July 19th. Whole expedition accompanied by trains of Emigrants started, passing over Cannonball River to Hart River[10] total of 110 miles where Camp was formed, and having discovered by Scouts that the Sioux Camp of large dimension was ahead of us. Here the mules were to be packed with ten days provisions and no wagons except ambulances to go with the expedition all rest to stay in Camp until our return. After half Day spent packing mules that stampeded scattering Boxes of Hard tack Boiled Sowbelly &c over miles of plains Genl concluded to take one Wagon for each 2 Companies and two days ration in each Mans Haversack. Marched 24 miles to Knife River where 1st night was spent holding Horses with very little rest.

July 27th. Started 3 o'clock a m 56 miles again. Hold Horse all night.

July 28th. 32 miles fast March. Came in Sight of High range of Bluffs. Scouts galloping back our Battallion 7th Cavy ordered gallop to front Dismount and Deploy as Skirmishers with myself as orderly to Corlonel. Indians appeared covering plains 6 miles or more front and back to the Hills far as you could see all was Indians & ponies War Whoops and all kind of Whoops. This continued from 10 a m until Dark when we had their Camps of fully 6000 Tepees at the foot of Mount Tachkahute [Tahkaho

10 Heart River, a western tributary of the Missouri.

kuty] or Kill Deer Mt.[11] The whole Camp was Burned with all food & Equipments the Indians escaping over Mountain to Bad lands of the little Missouri. At Dark our Battallion out to east side of Battle Ground while making Camp were attacked, and quite a few wounded & 2 Men killed but we saved all Horses & Camp Material but we got no rest that night all resting on arms and holding Horses.

It is not known how much loss the Indians met with as they carried most of the Dead with them but there were more than 1000 Bodies Burned in with Camps on our return after march. The Bodies of Two Pickets were discovered filled with arrows

Aug 1st. Returned to Corall found all quiet

Aug 2nd. Got back to Camp and had good meal first [in] six days.

Aug 3rd. Started 5 a m in westerly direction over rolling prarie 25 miles campd on Heart river

Aug 4th. Nineteen miles over fine Country good Camp plenty of Grass for Horses. Passed over remains of an Indian Encampment

Aug 5th. Traveling nine Hours. Halted on Edge of the roughest Country. Ahead no Water except what stood in pools or depression of ground accumulation of heavy Shower. No feed for Horses and no fuel except Buffalo Chips and they too wet to burn

Aug 6th. We sure were on the jumping off place on the border of the Bad lands. All indicated that some time in past there had been a terrible Conflagration or an Eruption of the Earth Surface. Looking over the way ahead as far as one could see were all sorts of Hills with all Colors of the Rainbow in Earth & Rocks all sorts of

[11] For an official report of this battle see *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 141-148.

formations. Woods & Vegetable Petrified even large trees laying on ground. Solid Rock and Stumps Splintered Standing that when struck would ring like Steel. Quite a lot of Bushes trees and other Vegetation were interspersed on side of Bluffs. Some Berries that sure tasted good. This day were on go all day but only made about 12 miles to the little Missouri river where was good Water Grass and fuel.

Aug 7th. Our Battallion was ordered on the Bluffs west of little Missouri as guard to protect Road Making Men as it was found impossible to proceed through ravines otherwise. In mean time part of 6th Cavy had taken Horses down river to grass when Indians stampeded them creating a big racket quite a number of the Horses being captured by reds.

On return of six Companys of road makers after their days work our Battallion was ordered in. As Co M being the last out came through the narrow ravine Indians on top of the 300 foot Bluffs began rolling stones down but fortunately were a bit slow as all came through safe and the howitzers threw a few Shells on the Bluffs soon sent the reds out of sight.

Aug 8th. 2nd Brigade started out first and had only gotten out of Camp when Indians were heard in all directions shooting & whooping. Our Battallion had started out on left flank and were soon kept busy on top of bluffs driving the reds who were thick all directions. We only advanced about 5 miles today the Indians got so near the rear guard who had a severe time protecting the Emigrants team, that they lost eight oxen, but no lives lost. Camped in a depression near a small pond of foul water so Rotten the Horses did not want to drink it.

Aug 9th. Still whooping and shooting in all directions

around us but as we advanced country being more open they could not do much harm. This day passed over ground where had been an immense Camp of the Reds estimated as Ten Thousand or more. This day the Blackfoot guide only one who was familliar with this country was so severely wounded as to incapasatate him as a guide. Our Camp this Evening was a very compact one the Hills & Bluffs crowding all sides. Fortunately for our company shortly before going into Camp I had dismounted and passing around an immense Rock discovered a depression of the Rock enough clean cool Rain water to supply our Company with good drinking & cooking Water enough for Supper & Coffee next morn.

Aug 9. After an almost sleepless Night started 4 a m with Indians thick on all sides of us but when we dismounted and started after them on foot at a double quick they soon discovered that this was not their home or resting place. Twas Estimated that the last three days had cost at least Four Hundred Indian lives and toward Evening they gradually left us and soon we got on level ground and to a large pond of clear water where we camped and had a good nights rest except that one of the 6th Cavalry raised the alarm of—Wake up the 'Camp is full of Indians'. He must sure have had a big Night Mare.

Now came news that the Commissary was about empty and our Rations cut to half.

Aug 12th. Our Comp L on advance guard just at sunset came in sight of Yellow Stone and after signal shot by the 8 Lb Howitzer the Steamer Alone[12] came in sight and by 10 o'clock P. M. we were feasting.

After crossing the Yellow Stone where we left the Emi-

[12] Two small steamers—the "Chippewa Falls" and the "Alone"—met the expedition at this point. Each had about fifty tons of freight.—*War of the Rebellion: Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 147.

grant train, we followed the River to its Entrance into the Missouri river to Fort Union. From there we followed the trail of the Sioux northward to near the Border of Manitoba and then turned our Course South toward the land of the 'living' finally arriving at Sioux City where we recd our discharge and Quit.

H. J. Wieneke
Co L 7th Iowa Cavy

II

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF AMOS R. CHERRY

Fort Randall, D. T. Jan 1862.

Account of the march of companys A, B and C of the 14th Regt. of Iowa volunteers from Iowa City Iowa to Fort Randall Dakota Territory in the month of November 1861.

We left Iowa City on the 31st of Oct and marched only two miles and went into camp at Gov Kirkwoods Farm and remained there in camp the next day the first of November Saturday Nov 2nd. Left camp at Kirkwoods at eleven Oclock A. M. and marched ten miles and encamped at or near the residence of Mrs. Douglass in Clear Creek Town Ship. We arrived there at half past three Oclock P. M. We was all somewhat tired with this our first days march but after a good nights rest we came out as good as ever again and was ready for the next days march. While we was in camp at this place we was presented with a beautiful Flag by the Ladies of Clear Creek. They apeared in camp about eight Oclock in the evening acompanied by Mr Evans Esqr who presented the Flag in behalf of the Ladies. The Battalion was ordered into line and large Bond Fires was built in front of the line when the Ladies was escorted in by the Band

and marched up in front of the ranks when they was greeted with three cheeres from the troops. Mr. Evans then addressed the men and presented the Flag to Capt Pattee[13] with some very approprate and soul stiring remarks which was responded to by Capt. Pattee with a fiew but approprate remarks. Lut Luse[14] of Co. B. was then called upon and came out and made some very spicey remarks which was then loudly cheered by the Battallion. Miss Washburn then appeared and adressed the troops in a very able manner and exorted us to prove ourselves true and brave men and allso to prove true to this just cause and that she hoped and believed that we as brave men of Iowa would maintain the honor of that beautifule emblem of our Countrys glory which they as patriotic Ladies had presented us with. When she withdrew and as she finished speaking three times three cheeres was given and this was not enough, cheer after cheer went up for Miss Washburn and the patriotic Ladies of Clear Creek *long may they wave*. Co. B. was then called upon for a Song and we of course complied and sang the *happy Land of cannain* which was cheered loudly by all pressant. We was then dissmised and we all retired for the night. Several Ladies was in camp at this camp from Iowa City that I was acquainted with. One of them was Miss Della Zimmerman from our old neighborhood.

Sunday, 3rd. Left camp again this morning at eight Oclock and marched twenty miles and encamped two miles east of Marrengo on *Bear Creek*. We marched very fast this day and was all very tired when we arrived in camp at night and you could have seen the men laying arround in all directions upon the grass or leaning upon their guns.

[13] John Pattee was captain of Company A, Fourteenth Iowa Infantry. He was appointed lieutenant colonel May 15, 1863.

[14] Marvin R. Luse, first lieutenant of Company B, Fourteenth Iowa Infantry, and Company L, Seventh Iowa Cavalry.

The reason of our marching so fast this day was this. It was Co. C's turn to march to the right (or in front) and they made their braggs that they was going to run Co. A. and B. down before we reached *demoin* and they strung out like a pack of wild Bulls and at times they would call out to us (for we was next to them) close up Co. B. close up and we did close up to and tread their heels about as close as they cared abbout. We would have kept up with them if it had killed us all. Co. A. was in the rear and would call out to give it to them Co. B. and I tell you the *Wapseys* as they call themselves got enough of that days march trying to run Co. A. and B. During this march we passed through *Home Stead* and the *Dutch Colony*. Neither of these towns are of much importance. Home Stead has a population of about one hundred. The *Dutch Colony*[15] has a population of about five hundred I should judge from the appearance of it. It is a very pretty town and things has the appearance of being well conducted. Every thing appears to be in its place and a place for every thing. It is a beautifull farming Country arround the *Collony* and it is allso well cultivated.

Monday, 4th. Left Camp this morning at eight Oclock and marched fifteen miles and encamped again on Bear Creek 12 miles west of Marrengo. We passed through Marrengo to day in four ranks and made a very good appearance. We was welcomed by the people of that place who manifested their Loyality to the Union by causing the Stars and Stripes to float from every public building and flagg staff in the town as they saw us approaching the place. When we marched through this place the band played the very approprate air *the girl I left Behind me.*

15 The Amana Community. Homestead was purchased by the society in 1861.

You may rest assured that when I heard this favourite air it brought many sweet recollections before my vision. Often now when I hear this air do I think of the girls I left behind me. This morning was the first time we saw a Scarcety of provisions but if eatables was not scarce this morning at our camp near Marrengo they never was scarce if I understand what scarcity means. Well I will tell you what we had to call a breakfast that morning. It was this one flap Jack and a half peice of boild Beef about as large as a good large potato and a pint cup full of coffie sweetned with some very poor brown shugar. Our flap Jacks was one half flower and one half corn meal and mixed up with cold creek watter. Was not this rather tough feed for men on the march but such was our breakfast on the morning of our second days march through a plentifull and peaceable country with plenty of provisions which could have easily been procured at any time but our commanding Officer did not exert himself to get them and we was obliged to get allong without them which we done by calling at Farm Houses and telling the people our true situation and the way we was being treated and in every instance they freely gave to us all as long as they had any thing eatable to give. Co. B this day refused to march in ranks and was of course much scattered. At times not more than fifteen men of Co. B was to be seen in ranks the remainder being scattered along the road for two or three miles back but every man answered to his name at camp at the six Oclock Roll Call. We never left ranks without first asking permission of Lut Luse who was in command of Co. B. He said to the men if they could get what was necesarry to sustain them on the long and weareysome march before them by calling [at] houses along the road they was at lib-

erty to do so but Co. A and C was not so fortunate their Officers being more ridged in the enforcement of their Diciplin and not allowing a man to leave the ranks under any conditions whatever and at some times when their men came into camp at night they was allmost exausted with hunger and fatigue while Co. Bs men would all be in camp in time for Roll Call and have enough with them for a good Supper besides getting a good dinner allong the road at some kind old Farmers House. On the night of the fourth we had a good supper in camp that we had begged allong the road and brought with us into camp Our evenings meal that night consisted of Slap Jacks Molasses butter squash cabbage vinegar beef coffie shugar and milk which made up quite a styleish supper and you bet it was rellished by us all. After eating this our evenings meal we all took to cuting up and having a good time in every way we could. Some was jumping other was wrestleing and others siting in their tents singing some favourite peice of music or an army song and another thing we had a fine lot of sport over and it was this. One of the men went out into the woods hunting and killed an Owl and brought it into camp with them. The boys thought this a fine chance to have some fun and at it they went They would take the Owl and go slyly up to the dore of some tent and carefully draw open the folds of the tent dore and send the Owl in amongst the men that are gathered inside telling over the adventures of the day when in would come the old Owl casting terror among the assembled Braves inside and the next thing you would see would be one of the boys running down through the camp as if all the rebbles of the south was after him and some ones head sticking out of the tent telling what he would do if ever he found out who done that and I

Schell[16] amused himself by takeing this old Owl and throwing it into our tent and takeing me right fair in the mouth. No sooner had it came in than I went out and if I could have seen any one near I would have snatched him bald at one grab but the sport did not end here. He came into our tent after I had gone in and wanted to know what the trouble was (apearring very innocent). Says I you own up now to the truth or I will clean out every Lutennent in the camp and he roared out laughing which told us very well who done it. Well after awhile he went back to his tent and he and Lut Luse was studying over a pile of papers and in went the old Owl again right into the midst of the papers scattering them in all directions. When Luse says what in thunder does that mean Jo, who was that. Oh says Jo that is nothing but some of the boys fun. Well says Luse that aint as much fun as it is cracked up to be I dont think. So this ends this nights sport and the nine Oclock tattoo told us that the bed time had arrived and we all retired for the night and slept soundly after our nights sport.

Teusday, 5th. Left camp at Bear Creek at half past eight Oclock and made a march of twelve miles and reached Brooklyn at three Oclock, and encamped near the town and near a creek of fine watter.

Brooklyn is a small town and allso a very pretty town. Its population is about three hundred. The town is situated upon a high Bluff. While we was encamped at this place we was favoured with visits from the fair Sex of Brooklin who sang several very pretty songs and allso some very approprate ones for our benifit. We of course extended to them all the courtesy due these congenial be-

[16] Joseph F. Schell, second lieutenant of Company B, Fourteenth Iowa Infantry and Company L, Seventh Iowa Cavalry.

ings. After they had entertained us very agreably for some time they returned to their homes and we was preparing for to retire when it was anounced that we was to be serenaded by the Brooklin Brass Band and soon they apeared in camp and favoured us with some excellent music played Dixey, Hail Columbia, Yankey Doodle and many other favourite National airs. They then returned to their homes and we to our tents but before they left Co. B was called upon for a Song and again sang the good old *Happy Land of Cannain* which was cheered by all present. While here we was the recipants of many gifts in shape of eatables. The patriotic people of Brooklin will long be remembered by the men of the Battallion. After our evenings entertainment we all retired for the night and slept soundly untill morning it being rather warm in our tents however but we did not mind this for we had the cheereing prospect before us of seeing *cool weather* before we reached Randall.

Wednesday, 6th. Left camp at Brooklin this morning at seven Oclock and marched twenty miles and reached Grenell. We refused to march in ranks to day on acount of not getting enough to eat but we did not suffer you may bet for we called at allmost every house and in most cases found the people very liberal in giving provisions to the Soldiers. I hope they may be rewarded for their kindness at some future time. We found Grenell a very pretty town indeed. We arrived there about four Oclock, P. M. and encamped on some vacant Lots in the Subburbs of the town. We found the people very kind indeed in fact every thing that they had that would add to our comfort was freely given. Rest ashured that we did not suffer for the necsessaries of life while at the town Grenell. We had not only the substantial things of life but we had the

luxuries of life. Our camp looked like one vast Bakery or provision Store. I tell you these things was thankfully received and the soldiers friends of this place will long be rememberd for their kindness. While we was here I attended a danceing party at the Read House and had a splendid time. I did not expect to atend another party until I returned to Iowa but I was happily disapointed for as I was preparing to go to bed Seargant Pumphrey[17] came up along the line of tents calling for Seargant Cherry. I did not at first care much about answering thinking perhaps I would be politly asked to take a squad of men to bring watter or provisions from town or perhaps to get some of the Boys that was up in town on a spree but I answered however. Says he, where are you. Says I, here I am going to Bed, when he came to the tent dore and called me out and said there was a dance up town and wished to know if I would go up. I told him I would exactly so I got out my full uniform and came out and went down to the Oficers tent and there found Pumphrey, Wm. Mahanna[18] and Lut Luse waiting for me. We went at once up to the Hottell and was [met] politely by the proprietor and escorted into the dressing room. After fixing up in the best of Style and brightening up our brass works we was then invited to walk into the Parlor which we done with all the pleasure imaginable whare we found some very handsome young Ladies and allso some very interesting and intelligent ones allso. We was all introduced by Lut Luse to all the people presant. We soon selected Partners for a dance and at it we went and had a good time. We danced until about one Oclock and after

[17] Horace B. Pumphrey, third sergeant of Company B, Fourteenth Iowa Infantry.

[18] William B. Mahana, a son of Captain Bradley Mahana.

eating a splendid supper we returned to camp. Need I say that us Soldiers was great favourites with the Ladies that evening. We of Brass Button noteritery was all the rage. After sleeping about four hours I was awakned in the morning at the roll of the acustomed Revelle. After eating a good Breakfast we was ready for the march.

Thursday, 7th. Left camp at Grenell at eight Oclock and marched twenty miles and reached Newton in Jasper Co. We did not suffer any from want of provisions to day for the good people of Grenell filled our haversacks well before we left there so we had a plenty on this days march and made the march without any trouble and kept good order and kept in ranks. Allso we found the people of Newton very kind but business more dull than at Grenell. Newton has a population of 1,500. Wm. Boyd and I obtained a pass from Lut Luse to go ahead of the command in the afternoon in order to find Mr. Bain and Mr. Teft [?] but they lived so far from town that we thought we would not go to see them. They live about six miles from Newton so we did not go. We stayed in town until the command came along when we joined them and started to go with them down into camp but we had not gone far when Seargant Pumphrey came along and caught me by the arm and says he let us go up town and get our supper. Well says I I dont care. We turned round and went back. When we came up with the rear of the company whare Lut Schell was he asked us whare we was going We told him we was going up town to get our supper. All right says he and we went on and did get our supper and a good one to. After supper we went down into camp and found it full of Ladies who was singing songs and entertaining the Soldiers in every way they could We done all we could to make it apear that their song

was listned to with pleasure and that the moral that was contained in many of them was duly apreciated by us. After they had finished singing we thought we should return the compliment by singing one to so we Co. B. struck up and sang the *Happy Land of Cannain* which was responded to by a Rev. Gentlemen from town in a neat little speech. After he had finished three cheeres was given for the people of Grenell Newton and vicinity long may they live in the enjoyment of heavens choicest Blessings. After they had all returned to their homes we took to our tents and layed ourselves down for a little rest.

Friday, 8th. Resumed our march this morning at nine Oclock and marched eighteen miles and encamped on Camp Creek fourteen miles east of De Moin we broke ranks a great deal this day in order to get provisions and was very sucsessfull finding the people very kind and willing to do any thing to make us comfortable. The men was very tired to night and many of them suffering from sore feet. My feet however did not give out yet and I got along finely. Lambert Martins feet was very sore this night so bad he could hardly walk. The night we was in camp here was very cold and disagreable and the men being very near worn out went to bed early. After all was still in camp I and a corprall and our Orderly Seargant went to the cook and asked him if he would cook us some chickens on the shares if we would get them. He said he would so when Co. B. Guards was in I went to Guard No 1 and told him I wanted to go out and take some men out with me. Well says he it is all right. So I got the Boys togather and out we went and paid our respects to an old Sescessionest that lived near by way of paying our respects to his hen roost and after getting a chicking or two apeice we returned to the camp and had

a good mess of chickens that night and allso had the fun of stealing them besides. It has been said that stolen fruit is sweet and I geus it is a true saying for nothing was relished more by me than that mess of chickens. On our way up to the house says Corpral Welling what if we should get catched at this. Oh says Orderly Seargant Dennis it dont make any differance. We are all Seargants. Let it rip. Who cares. We will get the chickens you know. Well by the time the chickens was devoured it was one Oclock and we all went to bed and slept until morning.

Saturday, 9th. Left camp at eight Oclock this morning and marched fourteen miles and reached Fort De Moin at three Oclock P. M. and encamped in the outskirts of the town in the forks of coon and De Moin rivers. Had a very pretty place for our camp and enjoyed ourselves finely. Found the people very kind but not the same good feeling toward the soldiers that was manifested at Grenell and Newton. When we came into our camping place Capt Pattee marched his company up to the left and pitched his tents. His company and Co. C. went to work and set up their tents and we got orders not to leave ranks and there we stood in ranks with our arms at an order and all attention. Pattee came up and says he Capt why dont you put up your tents over there why do you keep your men standing here for. Says Capt Mahanna[19] I shall not pitch my tents until I can pitch them on the left whare they should be that is the place for my company and when I get my rights I will break ranks and set up my tents and not one moment before. Why says Pattee what is the trouble. Says Mahanna you have marched your company to the left and pitched your tents whare you had

19 Bradley Mahana was captain of Company B, Fourteenth Iowa Infantry, and Company L, Seventh Iowa Cavalry.

no right to because it was a better peice of ground for a camp. Move your company out here to the right whare it should be and all will be right and not until this is done. My men shall not stack their arms mark that sir. So Pattee had to take up his tents and move them over to the right and we went to the left whare we should be and Pattee found that he could not fool Capt Mahanna much. Well all passed on smoothly for a while until some of the Boys wanted to go up town and Lut Cooper[20] of Pattees company was Officer of the day and he would not let the Boys be out when they was provided with a pass from Our Captain. They came back and told Mahanna that the Officer of the day would not let them pass the Guard. Well says Mahanna I will pass you out come with me all who want to go up town, when about fifty of Co. B. started with him for town. He went to the out posts and told the Guard to pass these men out. Says the Guard I had orders not to let any one out. Says Capt Mahanna call the Officer of the Guard or the Officer of the day. He called for the Officer of the day No. 1. He came and Mahanna says to him I want you to pass these men out. Says Cooper I had orders from Capt Pattee not to let any one out. Says our Capt I want to know sir if you are going to pass these men out if you dont I will. Says the Officer do you mean that you wont obey the orders of our commanding Officer. Mahanna turned arround and says Boys pass out pass out. I will see whether you wont go out on a pass from a commissioned Officer and out the Boys went and Cooper went off swearing about Co. B. and Captain Mahanna.

Sabath, 10th. Still at De Moin. I attended Church in

[20] Francis H. Cooper, first lieutenant of Company A, Fourteenth Iowa Infantry, and captain of Company K, Seventh Iowa Cavalry.

the morning and evening at the Methodest church. I went in charge of a squad of sixty men of Co. B. and many of them went to other churches. I think every one of Co. B. except the Guard was at church that day. The people appeared to be pleased to see us at the church and received us very politely and took great pains to see that we was provided with seats. We heard a very good sermon both in the morning and evening. At night he preached a sermon on the war and complimented us very highly and with dificulty the Soldiers refrained from cheering him in the midst of the sermon. We went to and from church in perfect order and made a very fine appearance and was complimented by the people of De Moin.

Monday, 11th. Still at De Moin. To day we performed the painfull duty of following one of our fellow Soldiers from Co. C. to the grave. His name was Maxwell[21] and was from Wappello, Louisa Co., Iowa. He was burried with the honors of war. He was followed to the grave by the whole command in full uniform with unfixed Bayonets and arms reversed. The drums was all muffled which made them sound very solem indeed. We went from the camp to the hottell whare the Boddy was and formed in two ranks in front of the house. The Band then played one or two tunes and the Boddy was brought out before the coller company when the Band again played a very solem air. The corpse was then carried up to the right and the Guard arround it the Band in front. We was then brought to a right face and moved toward the grave yard which was about one mile distant. The Band played the dead march and nothing was heard but the solem sound of the muffled drums the steady step of the men and the subdued commands of the Officers. After we arrived at the

21 Wilson S. Maxwell died at Des Moines on November 10, 1861.

grave we was drawn up in two ranks at the mouth of the grave and three discharges was fired over his grave as soon as it was filled up. After this cerimony we returned to town at a quick step the Band haveing taken off the muffles. They played Yankey Doodle, the Girl I left Behind me, and many other favourite airs. After we returned to camp and stacked our arms and looked arround the camp was as still as a grave yard allmost not a loud voice was heard or any thing that would breake the silence and the solemnity of the scene. A large concourse of citizens allso followed us to the cemetary.

Teusday, 12th. Resumed the march this morning at nine Oclock and marched sixteen miles. To day we received only about half rations and Co. B again refused to march in ranks and fell out at every house to obtain the necessairies of life and subsistance for the march and our evenings meal. We are now in camp now as I am wrighting some are singing others dancing some playing the violin some the clarenot and some the Gituar others playing some of their favourite plays and amusemints which gives the camp a cheerfull appearance. To night G. B. Zimmerman and Samuel Kirk are on the sick list but they are neither of them very bad and will probaly be better soon. I forgot to notice in the proper place that we came very near stacking arms and refuseing to march out of De Moin but our Capt got to hear of it and when our company was paraded for roll call he came out and talked to us about it. He did not say you must do so and so but merely advised us to keep up the reputation of the company and to show the others that if Pattee was mean enough to cheat us we was brave enough to stand it without a murmur and he talked us right out of it and we broke ranks with shouts and laughter. We was not base

enough to show any disrespect to our beloved Old Captain and when our Captain joined us at Newton he was received as a lot of children would receive their Parrent. When we saw him cumming the company fell in and came to a present arms and after he had returned the salute we gave nine cheres for Capt B Mahanna.

Wednesday, 13th. Resumed the march this morning at seven Oclock and marched twenty one miles and encamped on Coon River near the town of Reeding in Dallas County. At this place the men was obliged to waid the river the Bridg being gone. I did not wade the river and was determined not to go through the cold watter for it was as cold as ice. I waited until a waggon came along and then rode over on that. Many of the boys that wadded the river was sick for two or three days afterward. Reeding is a small town of about 200 inhabatants and is mostly Irish people. While we was encamped here the Ladies visited us and sang some very pretty songs. We again sang the *Happy Land of Cannain.* It was new to them and was cheered by all pressent. We passed through Adell the county seat of Dallas County. It is the finest little town we passed through on our whole march. They have the finest court house I ever saw. Its population is about 500.

Thursday, 14th. Resumed the march this morning at seven Oclock and marched thirty four miles and encamped on the open Pararie near the town of Dalmanutha[22] a small town of about one hundred inhabitants. This day was our hardest days march since leaving Iowa City. We got very hungry and called at housess along the road but there was not many to call at. Sometimes we would go ten miles without seeing a single habitation. The command

22 Dalmanutha in Guthrie County was at one time a prosperous stage route station but disappeared later, when the town of Casey was built.—*History of Guthrie and Adair Counties, Iowa* (1884), p. 607.

was much scattered. It was about seven miles from the advance to the rear Guard and the teams and men scattered all the way between them. I and Seargant Trask and Lut Schell Samuell Waldron Jos Crouse Ed Pinney and S. B. Zimmerman fell back to the rear and made up our mind that we would call at the first house we came to and get our supper. So when we came to a station called Bear Grove Station and we went in and asked if we could get our supper there. There was no one at home but the Ladies and they hesitated at first and then said if we would wait until they cooked it we could have some. Lut Schell asked them how long it would take them to get it up. They said about an hour. O says Schell we will wait of course. After we had been there a short time and begun to talk about the war we found that we was talking to a lot of sescisionsts. They said it was good enough for us that we did not get enough to eat and that if we was fools enough to go to the war let us take what we could get. She said she had a son in the Iowa fourth Regt and he was a fool and hoped that he was getting the same fare as we was. This raised our dander a little and Trask told her about what he thought of her and the south. She said she would like to see all the oficers in the northern army hung. Says I you had better look out how you talk says I there is one of our Officers at the same time pointing toward Schell. She looked arround at him and sneeringly said, Oh he is a little young thing I would not be afraid of him myself. This raised a perfect roar and rather took down the Lutennant. Well after supper was ready and on the table we sat up without much cerimony and commenced to lay away the provisions at a fearfull rate. We did not take off our hats or caps canteens Haversacks or any thing. We eat everything that they had

cooked in the house and after the table was swept clean and we all set back Trask who was sitting up to the table knawing a Bone of Beefe said dont quit boys because I have eat hearty. I am just beginning to get hungry. We then paid them our twenty cents apiece and expressed a wish that our army would come out victorious. We then went on in the direction of camp which was about two miles off. We arrived there about an hour after dark. The tents was all up and supper cooked and we sat down and eat another supper in camp and for once I was satisfied. When we arrived in camp we found that the men was much dissatisfied about the way they had been treated and said they had not half enough to eat for supper after marching 34 miles and thought it was rather rough. This day we did not get a bit of dinner only what we begged any thing and was of course allmost starved when we got any thing and was of course allmost starved when we got to camp at dark and had to make a supper out of two Slap Jacks a piece of beefe about as large as a potato and some poor coffie. Was this not a shame? I think so at least.

Friday, 15th. Resumed our march this morning at eight Oclock and marched twenty miles and encamped on Turkey Creek in a fine boddy of timber the men very tired and the command much scattered the advance and rear Guards being about five miles apart. I started this morning with the front of the command and at night came in with the rear Guard. I and Seargent Trask fell back on purpose. When we got back to whare the rear Guard was we found that they was about five miles behind the command and was driveing three small hogs along with them that would weigh about 60 pounds apeice and was as fat as butter. I asked the corprall of the Guard what they was going

to do with them hogs. Oh says he we are going to have some pork. Says Trask that is right we are in for that. O says some of the Boys you will report us. No says I I wont do no such a thing. I asked them if they was going to kill them. They said they was so when we got down in a hollow out of sight we loaded a gun and shot two of them and skined them cut them up into small peices and divided it arround amongst the six. Guards and Trask and I got all our Haversack could hold. We brought it into camp and I knew I was to be Seargant of the Guard that night and I told Trask that I would get the cook to cook ours after they had all gone to sleep so we hid it in our tent untill they had all gone to sleep and I took it out and the cook cooked it for me and I carried it and put it into the tent for Breakfast and you bet we had a good Breakfast of fresh Pork that morning besides giving the two cooks all they could eat. But our good fortune did not end here. Five of the boys were out in the woods hunting squrils and came across a bee tree and about a barrell of honey in it. They came into camp and told me about it and wanted to know if I would let them out in the night to get it. Yes I told them I would pass them out. When Co. B. Guards was put on I took the two men who had two Buckets apeice to the Guard Beat No. 1. and told the guard who was a good fellow to let these men go out and come in when they wanted to and told him what they was after and they went out and brought in four Buckets full of honey and set it in the cook waggon and you better believe I had all that I could eat that night I and one of the cooks sat up and stole flour out of the commissary waggon and baked Flap Jacks and eat them and honey until we was nearly ready to bust and when I went to go the rounds I took a large peice of honey and gave a large

peice to each Guard. This rather pleased them and no wonder. And another good Joke took place that night. When the Boys brought up the Honey they set a pan full of it just inside of the Captains tent. The Captain went to go out early in the morning and in a great hurry to and he steped right into the pan of honey with his stocking feet. When he came out to the Guard fire whare I was sitting he held up his foot to the light of the fire and says Cherry what in the world did I get into in the tent there. At the same time the honey was all over his foot. I roared out laughing for I could not help it. Oh says he you rascles are trying to get me into a scrape. As soon as I could quit laughing I explained it to him and he laughed as hard as I did at him and said it was a good Joke on him and the honey. The next morning we all had honey to eat on our cakes which was a rare treat to us you had better believe.

Saturday, 16th. Left camp at Turkey Creek this morning at seven Oclock and [marched] twenty miles and reached Lewis, Cass County, and found it a very pretty town with a population of about five hundred. It has two stores two Hottels one drug store one crockrey store one Methodest Church a fine building one Drs Office Post Office a court-house one Blacksmith Shop one large waggon Shop and paint and repairing establishment. About one fourth of a mile from town runs a stream about as large as Black Creek in N. y called the Nitchenie Bottemy and on it is a large flouring mill in good order and a good run of business. At this place there is a splinded Bridge over the stream the best one I have seen since I left Iowa City. The Buildings in Lewis are very nice ones. They are all painted white that are of wood with nice yards and dore-yard fences and in fact it is a very pretty town. There is

a great many of the houssess are made of red sand stone which makes the finest looking house I ever saw. It is as red as paint and are cut perfectly square and nice. I think our land that is near there will prove a good investment at some future time. I was in both stores and they was both crowded with customers from the county. The population of the county is about 200 I believe. This is what they told me at that place. The country arround there is high rolling Paraire the fineist I ever have seen since I came to Iowa without exception. It is ahead of the Pararie where you live but I am afraid that timber will be very scarce in that part of the state for I did not see but little near there but perhaps it is not so scarce as I think perhaps I did not get a good view of the country. It is only 45 miles from Council Bluffs. There is a good road leading from Lewis to that Place and is travled a great deal. The night we encamped here it rained and stormed all night but we was in the timber which protected us a good deal our tents was very warm and did not leak any at all and we enjoyed as good a nights rest as ever I did in my life.

Sabath, 17th. Resumed the march this morning at eight Oclock and marched twenty five miles and encamped on the west Nitchenie Bottomey the men very tired and lame and suffering greatly from sore feet I among the rest. My feet was so sore that I could hardly walk at all but I took my time and got into camp about an hour after the rest of the command was in. Our dinner consisted of two hard crackers and plenty of creek watter. While we was in camp at this place one of our commissary waggons caught fire and burned the cover all off of it and in trying to put it out the men distroyed about two hundred pounds of Flour. When the fire broke out about twelve Oclock at

night the Guards gave the alarm and every one was calling out fire fire and of all the climbing I ever saw that beat all. Sometimes five or six would go out of a tent dore all at once and land in a pile at the out side for we all thought that the high grass had got on fire and was comming into our camp and we knew if this was the case our tents was a goner for the grass was as high as my head and as dry as powder and our camp was in the midst of it. After the fire was put out it was fun to look at the men some of them had nothing but their shirts on some had their pants on and one Boot others had only their drawers. I tell you I had a good laugh over it to think how they got out of their tents. If the enimy had a come in at this time they could not have told us from a set of Indians. We are now only twenty five miles from Council Bluffs. We expect to go through to there to morrow if we have good weather.

Monday, 18th. Resumed the march this morning at seven and a half Oclock and marched 25 miles and encamped on Mosquto Creek two miles from the Bluffs. The men allmost gave out to day. We had only two crackers a Slap Jack and a small piece of pork and a cup of coffie for Breakfast and no dinner at all. The men was much enraged at this kind of useage and a great deal of swearing was done you had better believe. Co. B. again refused to march in ranks and the whole command was much scatred. It was about five miles from the advance to the rear. I started at the head of the company in the morning and came in about five or six miles behind with the rear guard. I and the Guard stoped at a house and got our supper and got a good one to as it was thought such by us at that time. Pattee went ahead into the Bluffs and said he would have some bread in camp in time for supper

so we trudged along with the expectation of getting a good supper at night but when we arrived at our camp Pattee was not there and had not been there or the Bread either. The indignation of the men knew no bounds and we all declared openly before our Officers and Pattees Officers allso that we would never leave that camp until we was better provided for. Well we went to work and pitched our tents and waited for our Bread until after dark and it did not come so we went to work again allmost dead as we was to cook our slap Jacks and at it we went. Our Captain came arround and says he now deal out flour to these men untill they are satisyed if it takes all there is in the waggon and we had all the Slap Jacks we could eat that night and if it had not been for our good old Capt we would have fared worse then we did for he done all in his power to make things comfortable for us. It was not his blame that we did not get enough to eat no indeed. Some do not like Capt Mahanna but I do and the more I see of him the more I like him and there is not a man in this company but loves him. His enimies are among the cowardly stay at homes not among the soldiers that he has the honor to command. Let any man speak a word disrespectful of Captain Mahanna before one of Co. B. and he might as well slander the person himself it would not be resented any sooner. Pattee did not come into camp that night at all so much for his word. We did not find the people of Council Bluffs very patriotic. They treated us soldiers very cool indeed but we did not ask any odds of them you may rest ashured of that fact.

Tuesday, 19th. Stil in camp at the Bluffs. Went up town to day expecting to get a letter from home but was disapointed. Come back to camp and wrote two letters to Iowa City one to Father I believe and one to Miss Ella

S———————— and allso wrote a communication to the [illegible] News and to Miss Starks. I thought if I could not receive any letters I would wright some at any rate. We was still expecting to get a boat to take us up the river but was disapointed for Pattee came down into camp to night and said we could not get any and we would be obliged to go on foot to the Fort. This was a stunner I tell you and the men went allmost mad about it and all said they would fight before they would go on foot until they was better provided for.

Wednesday, 20th. Still in camp at the Bluffs. The men are thretening to stack arms if they are ordered to leave here without an asurance of being better provided for. Co. C is as bad as Co. B. and say they will stand by us in any thing we may do.

Thursday, 21st. Resumed the march to day at twelve Oclock and marched ten miles and encamped on Pigeon Creek ten miles north of Council Bluffs and two miles north of Crescent City a small Mormon Settlement of about three hundred inhabitants. When we received the Order to march Co A and C struck their tents and made preparations to start but Co B was not to be deceived any farther. We was told that Pattee had hired six more teams and had loaded them with provisions but we told them if we saw the waggons with the provisions in them we would beleive it and go on and not untill then so we did not toutch a tent or one thing of our baggage. Every thing in our part of the camp looked as if we was going to remain there all winter, while Co A & C tents was all loaded their baggage all in the waggons their knapsacks on their guns in their hands all ready for a start. We laughed at them and asked them if they was traveling or going some place. They replyed that they intended to obey orders we might

call it what we pleased. We replyed that we intended to obey all reasonable commands but we would not go any further without any thing to eat that we would fight there first. This silenced them and we sat arround taking our ease not a tent moved not an article of Baggage toutched or a team hitched up and we was waiting to see how it would terminate. While we was thus waiting Capt Pattee came down with the extra teams loaded as had been said with eatables and Co. B. went to work with a right good will to striking their tents and loading their Bagage and took their arms from the stacks fell into line and reported themselves ready for duity and we went on in the faithfull and cheerefull discharge of our duity but if those provisions had not came at that time we would not have started an inch until they did come we had made up our mind on that and was determined on that point. We fared very well from there to this place. We got all we could eat and that which was good to. The day we left the Bluffs we passed through the Out Skirts of the town. As we was passing allong I and the Orderly Seargant was walking along togather we had our overcoats on and [they] was rather [heavy]. Says he let us fall back and put our coats on the waggons. Well says I I dont care if we do. I am rather [tired]. So we halted and put our overcoats on the waggon. Then says the Orderly let us go allong slow here and call at some house and get our dinner. Well says I I am in for that evry time. So we come along to a neat little white cottage and called in and asked for our dinner. The Lady of the house said we could have the best she had cooked in the house which was not very good. We sat up and eat our dinner which was very good (but I have got just as good at home before now) and while we was eating the rear Guard went past and we sit still and

sliped them very neatly and had things our own way the rest of the day and took it slow and easey and kept about five miles behind the command. We did not get into camp untill after dark and got a ride with a kind old farmer for two or three miles at that. When I got in camp the boys was cooking their supper at the camp fires but I was not very hungry and did not pay much atention to them. I went up to the tent and got out my note Book and took down the incidents of the day. When it was time for roll call I went out and answered to my name. I thought this was all but when the guard was detailed and the Seargant anounced that Seargant Pumphrey would be Seargant of the Guard but he reported himself sick and could not act. When the Orderly turned arround to me and said you will be seargant of the Guard to night. Says I all right so I took the Guard and reported them to Lut Schell who was Officer of the day. After the first releif was mounted a load of provisions for Pattees family came into camp and was unloaded in a pile by themselves and Pattee came to me and told me to take one Guard off the beat and lengthen the others out and place him over this load of provissions. I done as he directed and put the man at his post to Guard these articles amongst which was two Barrells of crackers one of which had no head in. When Co. B. Guards came on duity it came so that an old fellow by the Name of McCart was placed at this post and he being rather sharp on the track of eateables discovered the crackers, and when I came round in going the rounds he called out to me and says, Seargant do you know what is in these Barrells. Says I no I dont know what they contain. Says he come here and see. So up I went and there was a Barrell of crackers with the head out. You bet we lived high that night. I eat all I could

and took enough into the tent for our breakfast. I told every guard that was on that post that night and they had plenty to eat you may rest ashured. That night was very cold and windy and once along towards morning I went the rounds again. When I came to the beat whare Ed Pinney was he was not to be found. I called out to him and found him down behind a waggon out of the wind. Says he it is so cold up there I thought I would get down here out of the wind. Says I all right stay there if you can get out of the wind. It is all right. The next Beat was Archie[23] and the next ones was German McCardles. When I got up to theirs I found them seting down in the tall grass out of the wind smokeing. The next ones was W McCaddons and I found him down on annother mans beat by a fire warming himself. He asked if it was any harm for him to go down there to warm. Says I I dont think it is any harm to warm yourself such a night as this at least I mean to warm if I can and you are a fool if you dont do so to.

Friday, 22nd. Resumed the [march] this morning at eight Oclock and marched twenty miles and encamped at Calhoun a small town in Harrison County. This day was very cold and windy. I and Seargeant Trask fell back and took our time. The rear Guard over took us and we went on to gather for a mile or two and we concluded that we would disband the Guard and call and get our supper at some house along the road. So when we came to a house we all stoped ten of us and asked if we would get our supper. They said we could and set to work preparing it and a very good supper it was to. I will tell you what we had the pleasure of putting out of sight that night at that kind old farmers house. We had Buckwheat

[23] This is probably Archibald McNeil, also of Iowa City.

Cakes Sorgum warm buiscut hot corn bread butter roast Beefe coffie shugar cream potatoes and all the trimmings that was needed to set it off to a good advantage. After we had finished eating we offered to pay for our meal but not one cent would they take. The old Grey hared man of the house said all he asked of us was to be good boys do our duity as soldiers and maintain the good name and honor of Iowa. We ashured him that we would try and do this and thanked him kindly and started on in the direction of camp which was about two miles distant. When we arrived there we found the boys hard at work cooking their supper of Slap Jacks and Beefe. The camp was in a wheat feild near a large pile of straw which provided us with good bedding. We filled our tents neerly half full and banked the tent up on the out side about half way to the top which made them very warm and we slept soundly all night.

Saturday, 23rd. Resumed the march this morning at seven Oclock and marched fifteen miles and encamped near the town of Little Sioux a small town situated on Little Sioux river. Its population is about three hundred. The day was very windy and none of the companies pretended to march in any kind of order at all. We walked behind and at the side of the waggons in order to be protected from the wind. When we was cooking our Breakfast the wind blew a perfect gale and blew our Batter full of straw and ashes and all manner of dirt and when the cakes was baked there was more straw and ashes in it than there was flour but we did not care for that for it made more cakes and any thing to get more to eat. We did not care if it was half dirt. When we started and got up in town I called at a saloon and got a good drink of Brandy and I am not ashamed to own it either. I needed some-

thing to stimulate me on such a cold morning as that and was determined to have it to and felt relieved after I had it.

Sabath, 24th. Left camp at eight Oclock and marched eighteen miles and encamped two miles south of the town of Onawa a small town. The population I should think was about three hundred. It was a very pretty town the finest little town we have seen since we left Lewis. The day was well observed by the men and we had a very quiet and pleasant march no singing or hurahing or any thing to mar the pleasure of the holy sabath day, this is I think a credit to us as soldiers.

Monday, 25th. Resumed the march this morning at seven Oclock and marched twenty miles. We marched all the forenoon without seeing a single dwelling after leaving Onawa. We halted at a house for to eat our dinner and in so doing drank the mans well dry which he did not thank us for but after we had the watter we did not care for his thanks. I bought some butter and honney at this place which we eat with a great deal of . . . .[24]

Wednesday, 27th. Left Sioux City at eleven Oclock and marched five miles and crossed Sioux River on a ferry and encamped for the first time in Dakota. When we all got safely across we looked back perhaps some of us for the last time upon Iowa. We then struck up and sang Oh aint I glad to get out of the Willderness. This day we encamped on the same ground that Gen Harney camped on when he was comeing out to build this fort here. He had a fight with the Indians and killed many of them and allso lost some of his own men. We could see some traces of his camp and the fight yet when we was there. This day I had the honor to command Co. B.

[24] A part of the manuscript is missing here.

Every other Officer was up in town at the time the Order was given to march but myself and Corpral Snook so all we had left to do was to make the best of it so he went with the advanced Guard and I marched the company out to Sioux River. Our Capt and Luts did not get in until after dark in fact I had the whole command of things and got allong with it finely to. While I was at Sioux City I received a letter from Father written in answer to the one I wrote from Marengo. This was thankfully received and read with pleasure. Lutenant Luse got the mail for our company but mine was not in that package and after supper I started up town to see if mine was not there for Jos Crouse told me at the Bluffs that his father had wrote to him that Father had wrote to me and directed to Sioux City but before I got to the Office I met McCart who had my letter. You bet I was pleased. I went back to camp and answered it immediatly. I wrote in the Captains tent whare I allways went when I wanted to wright out of the noise. To night the grass got on fire and caused another alarm and got every man out of his tent about twelve Oclock at night. You bet I did not go out of the tent and warm bed. I thought when the tent began to smoke would be time enough to deprive my self of a good warm nest. The men was in the best of spirrits thinking that they was allmost at their journeys end being only one hundred and thirty miles from Fort Randall.

Thursday, 28th. Resumed the march this morning at seven Oclock and marched only fifteen miles and went into camp at Elk Point. The reason of our going into camp here was this. A severe snow storm set in when we had gone about five miles and of all the storms I ever saw this was the worst. We could hardly keep our feet at all the wind was blowing a perfect hurricane and the

snow was coming in perfect blinding sheets and in one sollid mass. Besides this it was very cold and the men nearly froze. The wind was directly in our faces. We halted at noon and got all up in a crowd behind an old log house and stood and eat our peice of bread which was froze as hard as a stone. It was so hard that we had to break the loaves apart over the waggon wheels when dealing it out such was our diner that day. We went on however without saying a word for no one was to blame for it being cold. I and several of the boys called at a house and got all the Bread and milk we could eat. This reminded me of home again. When we got to Elk Point station Pattee gave orders to go into camp that it was to bad for men to march such a day as that. We had intended to march thirty miles that day but the storm stoped us at fifteen the snow was about six inches deep and we scraped the snow away with a shovle and set our tents and got some Buckwheat straw for our beds. We built large camp fires out of logs which was plenty. We made a large fire right at the dore of our tent and there was a Guard fire right behind it so we slept as sound as ever I could wish to. We had a good supper that night in camp and you bet it was relished.

Friday, 29th. Resumed the march this morning at eight Oclock and marched fifteen miles and encamped near Vermillion. The population of this place is about two hundred. It is said to be the largest town in Dakota and is the Capitol of this Territory. It is on the Bank of the Mo. river and is a very pretty site for a town. Several of the boys went up in town to night and got tight as Bricks but the Captain did not hear of it. If he had they would have been sorry for it I tell you. Our Orderly Seargent and I came into town to gather and was behind

all the rest. When we came to the hotell we thought we would go in and warm. What was the Orderlys surprise to find one of his old friends there and that he was the proprietor of the house which was a good one to. He made us stay for supper and stay all night with him allso so after we eat our Supper we went down into camp and remained there untill after roll call and then went back and slept on a good feather Bed and eat a good Breakfast in the morning. This was nice was it not. Well you may think what you please we called it O. K. we did exactly (but I have often got just as good at home).

Saturday, 30th. Left camp this morning at eight Oclock and marched twenty two miles and encamped on James River. We crossed this stream on the ice. The men was very tired this night. I was very tired and cold when I came into camp and went to a large fire and warmed myself. After I began to get warm I felt sick and had the cold chills run over me. I went up to the Captains tent as soon as I saw I was going to be sick. I went into the tent and sat down by the Captains Stove and as soon as I done so the Captain remarked why Cherry are you not sick. I told him that I did not feel very well but thought I would get better when I got warmed through good again. He got up and went to his trunk and took out a flask of Brandy and gave me some which helped me as soon as I had taken it. Mrs. Snook[25] came in then and she made me some tea with some Brandy and ginger in it which warmed me up very quick. They allso made me stay in there for supper and I got a good one to for our Officers lived at the top of the pile. I remained in the Officers tent until bed time and then went out into my own tent and went to bed and slept soundly and waked up in the morning as

25 Probably the wife of Eden H. Snook, a private in Company B.

well as ever. While we was here an old Irishman by the name of Cannon stole a blanket and sold it for whiskey to an old Frenchman that lived near. He was caught at it and reported to the Captain who immediately ordered him arrested and sent a corporal with six men to get the Blanket and bring it back into camp. The Corprall went and done as he was directed. When the Blanket was returned the Captain put a board upon the theifs back with this inscription on it *I stole a blanket and sold it for whiskey.* He was then put in charge of a corprall and marched all over the whole camp to let the men all read it. After this was done he was put on Guard and made to stand Guard all night. After he was put on Guard he told the Officer of the Guard that if he would come and stand Guard in his place he would bring in sixteen of the finest chickens he ever saw and he could have half. The Officer told him that he was not standing Guard as much as he was. I will bet he wont steal another Blanket very soon again.

Sabath, December 1st. Left camp at James River at seven Oclock and marched seventeen Miles and encamped on the open Pararie near a traders house which was about two miles from timber. This I think was the coldest day I ever experianced. I froze my nose my cheeks and chilled all my fingers on my left hand. We could not keep warm no way we could fix it. We marched some of the way on double quick until we would get out of breath and then we would not be warm. I thought I would certainly freeze before I got whare there was a fire but I got along very well much better than some of my companions. Some of the men froze their feet and could not walk at all the next day. We went out on the bare Paraire to camp. There was not a stick of wood to make a fire with and the

wind was blowing a gale that was sharp enough to shave the hare from ones head and we was standing arround putting up our tents allmost froze. After the teams was unloaded they went for wood but it being two miles off it was some time before they could go that distance and cut it and get back. I dont believe no set of men ever sufferd more than we did that night hungry cold and nothing to warm us, was not a very cheering prospect to us but after the wood came and we got our fires made and our supper cooked and eat we felt better. We all went to bed early and slept comfortably and warm. In fact I never slept more soundly in my life but when we pitched our tents I had no other idea than that some of the men would freeze to death before morning, but we all got up in the morning all right and in the best of spirrits.

Monday, 2nd. Left camp at nine Oclock and marched 13 miles and encamped again on the open Parairie. The day was very pleasent and we had a very pleasent march. We went into camp about two Oclock. We had to bring our wood four miles this time but it was not very cold and we was not as hungry as we was the night before and we did not mind it much. I was sick again to night and was allso on as Seargent of the Guard but could not act. Corpral Snook took my place. I was never much sicker in my life than I was for a while that night. I went up to the Officers tent again to sit beside the stove and Mrs Snook made me another cup of tea that releived me wonderfully. They insisted on me siting up again and eating supper with them but I was so sick that I could not eat. I thanked them kindly and set stil by the stove which apeared very comfortable to me just then. After Mrs. Snook had docterd me up I went into my tent and went to bed. The other boys fixed the blankets in arround me and done

every thing they could to make me comfortable. You may rest ashured that I felt truley thankfull to them for their kindness and hope I may be able to repay them some time for their trouble. If it had not been for the kindness of Mrs. Snook and that of my mess mates that night I would have sufferd more than I did and by the way I will say that Mrs. Snook is the best woman I ever saw. She was like a mother to all of us. When any of us was sick it seemed a pleasure to her to administer to their wants and to try and make them comfortable. Next comes my mess mates I dont beleive there ever a lot of brothers that was more kind to one another than they was. It seemed to be the aim of every one of them to make themselves instruments to add to the comfort of the others and all done every thing we could to make it pleasant for one another. There was not a short word spoken during our whole march. Every thing passed of pleasantly and agreeably to all I think.

Teusday, 3rd. Resumed the march at nine Oclock and marched twenty five miles all the way over an open parairie. We did not see a house tree stone stump or fence or in fact any thing out side of our command but sky and Pararie untill we was within two miles of our camping place. Here we came to a ledge of rocks and some Wigwams and a few Indians. These was the first Indians we had seen. They was quite a curiosity to us all. We encamped on a small Pararie creek this night and had a splendid camp and a good supper.

Wednesday, 4th. Left camp this morning at seven Oclock and marched sixteen miles over the Pararie without seeing a single man or any thing out side of our command. We received orders this morning to take our guns and carry them in order to show our strength (for they

had been hauled in the waggon all the way from Council Bluffs). Pattee went on in the stage the night before and left the command to Capt Mahanna and it was for once conducted right. We passed through the Indian Agency and halted here a short time to rest. We found several white families here which apeared to be very respectable people and well informed. This agency is whare the Sioux Indians received their Annuities from the Government. The Agent from all accounts is a rascall and cheets the Indians out of their just dues. The Indians surrounded the Agency about two thousand strong and thretned to burn it. A messenger was sent to this place for troops and Lut Tennet[26] went down with about one hundred men and drove off the Indians. This hapened last fall. The Indians went off on a Buffalow hunt and have not returned yet. The Officer of this post dismissed the Agent and had a new one appointed which is no better than the other and there is much dissatisfaction among the Indians. They have made their threts that they will burn the Agency when they return from the hunt and if they atempt that we will have to go down there and attend to them. The interpeter says that they can muster eight thousand warriors if they try. This will give us a pretty hard rub but I geus we can manage them. We will give them the best we have at any rate, and that is as good as any one can do. We encamped on the Bottom about two miles from the Agency and the camp was full of Indians. They was all well armed and equiped but are in a state of starvation allmost. When our Guard was mounted they was told to *pick a chee* which means to leave. They understood and left very soon after getting the orders. They did not apear to like this much

26 Lieutenant Thomas R. Tannatt was in command of the regular troops at Fort Randall.

but if we had let them stay in camp untill after dark they would have stole every thing we had. You bet the Boys that was on Guard kept their eye peeled that night and walked their beat pretty steady to. The boys was in high glee to night to think they was so near Randall we being only sixteen miles from that place.

Thursday, 5th. Left camp at nine Oclock and marched to Fort Randall D. T. We marched about seven miles and then crossed the river on the ice. We lost our road before we got to the river and did not know whare to go so we got an Indian for a guide and he took us through all right. We arrived at this place about three Oclock on the 5th of December 1861. When we got near the place we was met by Capt Pattee who told us that we would be obliged to go into camp two days there in the woods to give the Regulars time to get out of the quarters. We did not like this much but had to make the best of it so we set up our tents again and went to work cooking our supper after the old fashion. We remand in camp that night and the next day and the next untill about noon when we went up and took possion of our own quarters. The Regulars left on the sixth. We went out in full rig to see them off and gave them three hearty cheeres and they in turn gave three for the Iowa Vollenteers. On the night of the fifth we all received an invitation to attend the Theatre and of course we accepted and all went up and was very agreabley entertained. The performance was very good as good as ever I saw. At the close the actors sang a song they had composed for the Ocassion called a welcome to the Iowa Vollenteers which was very good and was cheered loudly by us all. So ended our first night at Fort Randall. We keep up the theatre still but I have not attended it yet. They say it is very good. They had a

performance last night. It is free to all. Besides this we have a Lyeceum which is well attended and is very interesting. The subject that was discussed last Thursday night was resolved that Wimmin should have the right of sufferage. I was on the afirmative of this question and got beat to. It was decided in favour of the negitave. The question for the next evening is resolved that the Perusale of fictitous works is bennifical. I am on the afirmitive of this allso. I think I can substantiate my part of this argument. We allso have a Sabath School which is well attended. Capt Mahanna is the Superintendent and L. A. Martin is one of our teachers. It is very interesting. We allso have a Good Templars lodge. I do not belong to it and of course can not tell you much about it. We have a Billiard room and two splendid Tables. In fact we have all all we could ask for to amuse ourselves with we allso have a good Library containing about two hundred volumes of very interesting works. We have a Sutlers store with a good stock of goods and things is as reasonable as we could expect to get them. We can get any thing we want as well without the mony as with it. It is entered on the books and taken from our wagges. Our quarters are very comfertable and convenient each room is eighteen feet square and is ocupied by sixteen men. There is a double Bunk in each corner which will accomodate four men two below and two above. We have all the blankets we need. Our rooms are cealed up in the inside with matched cedar which makes them as warm as if they was plastered. We have a good large stove in the centre of the room and plenty of good wood to burn. We allso have looking glasses combs brushes and all things needed to make ourselves look slick. We have good Boxes to keep our clothes in to keep them from the dust. We have wash

Pans towells watter buckets brooms ash Pans shovls pokers and a full kit of things to keep house with. We take our regular turns at keeping the room in order. Archie is on duity in the room to day and it looks as neat as a *school marm.* My clothes are all whole my socks have not got a hole in them yet. We have large army over coats now that we received since we came here. They are heavy cloth of a sky blue collor. They come down below the knee and have a large cape that comes down to the *waist* so we are warmly clothed. The weather has not been very cold since we came here the coldest it has been was down to twenty below *zero.* We have had no snow of any acount. We have about an inch of snow now and that is the most we have had. We get plenty to eat and more then we can eat. I have about a half a loaf of bread in my box now that I could not eat in the morning. We have Beefe or Pork Bread and Coffie. We have Beefe three days in the week and pork four days. When we have pork we have rice in our soupe when we have Beefe we have Beans. We have an excellent cook and our fare is allso good. On sabath days we have warm buiscut roast Beefe and Pie and molassas this is quite a treat to us but we all got it at home and thought nothing of it. Well we will learn to apreciate a good home when we get back. Several of Co. B have been promoted since we come here. Our second Seargent Trask has been promoted to Seargant. Major J. T. Crouse has the apointment of asistant Commissary. C. M. Bell is apointed overseer over the saw mill which is a splendid thing. It is the best mill I ever saw. It cost about $40,000. It is not in operation at pressent however there being no need of lumber at the post. The duty here is not very hard. Privates only comes on duty once in two weeks or once in fourteen days corprals comes on

once in nine days and the Seargants once in twelve days. I am on duity to morrow my duty is not very hard however. I need not go out of the Guard house from morning till night only to go to my meals. I tell you a small petty Office is better than none, it exemps one from Guard duity which is quite an item *I tell you.* We get the mail here on Wednsdays and Saturdays, twice a week. I dont know as there is any thing more to tell you about my tramp to this place. I will give you a list of my room mates. It is this A. R. Cherry Seargant L. A. Martin Corprall J. M. Welling Corprall S. P. Hughes A. R. Clearman S. F. Adair R. F. Thompson W. T. Boyd W. A. McCaddon I. C. Jepson E. L. Pinney J. T. Crouse A. L. McNeil Alex Ruth Samuel and Wm Waldron. Dont you think we have a good mess? I think so at least. They are all fine fellows I can tell you that. I received a letter from Tom Piney one from Amos Ross one from James Shaw and one from James and Dunwiddie. The mail came in to day but nothing for me. Amos Ross wrote that he was in the oil Business and was making money. He said he had cleared $2000 in eight days he bought it for $2.50 and sold it for $7.90

Fort La Framboise Dakota Territory
Thursday Night May 7th/63

Friends at home.

Our mail arrived here this afternoon from Fort Randall much to our gratification I assure you and in it I received two letters from home which was as ever wellcome. One was from Ellisia of April 6th the other from Father and Mother of the 24th. I received letters from Lieut Culver Abbie Libbi James Miss McCreney and one from Crouse

at Fort Randall, who is now acting commissairy Sergt or a. a. c. S. as it is called in the Military phraseoligy. I was pleased to hear of cousin James Culvers visit and that he had located near you for a time at least. I hope he may like it and remain in Iowa and finally make it his home in the glorious Parerie State. Give him my respects and tell him to write me and I will answer promptly. I was pained to hear of Mr. Wigtens illness. I hope he may yet recover to serve his country in the field or at least return to his home to enjoy the benefits of a peace, when it shall be brought about. I seen a letter from Sergt major Trask clerk for Gen Cook at Sioux City which stated that the 6th Cavalry was expected soon at Sioux City and that a Boat had arrived there with 6000 rations and that another boat was expected every day. He speaks in high terms of Gen Cook and staff and says he thinks the men will like him. I am glad to hear of that. He allso stated that the two companies of the 41st at Fort Randall and perhaps Co B would accompany the expedition against the Indians. This is good news. Another rumor says we have been transfered to the 7th Iowa Cavalry. This is allso good news but not at all reliable. I shall be glad when more troops arrive and we shall have company, and this for more than one reason to. There was some Indians arrived here some time ago and reported the *Unk pa pas Sans Arks* and *Black Feet* Sioux all coming in to trade and trouble is feared with them but we feel confident that we can hold our position against any odds.

These Indians made a feast when they came in and told the Yanktonais that they ought to leave here and make those fellows with blue coats leave allso. The Yanktonais informed them they should not leave and that they was going to stand by the traders who had befrended and fed

them all winter and that the Soldiers had treated them well and they would fight with them and all die togather. Thus you will see the Yanktonais are on our side. They number about two hundred Lodges and about eight hundred Warriors. They have allways befrended the whites and are treated very kind by them in turn.

On the first the detachment gave a feast to the fool band who figured so conspicuously in the rescue of those white prisoners from the Santees.[27] There was only six of the fool band there however all the rest being off on a hunt—I will give you the name of some of them that did not belong to the fool band. First, Young *Bears rib* whose father was killed while defending the whites at Fort Peirre last spring a noble yong man. Next was *Drag the Rock, White Crane and White Halk* (or) *Two Lance* (as he is sometimes called). These three was the ones who went up after that little girl last winter. Next was *Bone nec lace* the head chief of the Yanktonais here. *Scratch* was allso present a noted chief of the tribe. Asside from these was the six of the fool band and allso red Dog, and *Red Vine* and Crazy Dog.

All these Indians went after prisoners the first time except Young Bears rib and crazy dog. *Crazy Dog* was the one who bought the little girl for white crane and the two others that went from here last winter. He was camped near the Santees. He gave his only horse for her and then bid them come away with her and he remained to try and buy the other prisoners and after trying in vain him and his squaw came down here three hundred miles on foot and had a large dog to carry his provission for him. What do you think of that friends. Is not that a

27 For an account of the rescue of the captives by the Fool Band of the Sioux see Pattee's *Dakota Campaigns* in the *South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. V, pp. 286, 287, 350.

patern of principle and feeling worthy of being immitated by white men. Need I say crazy dog is allways welcome to our quarters and our table. I wish you could have been at the feast and seen them all arround the table. They were waited upon by the soldiers with as much gusto as could be expected of an Astor House *ebony* white apron. Drag the rock and *Bone nec Lace* made short speeches which was full of warning and friendship and assured us that when these Indians came from above they would be on our side and fight with us in the fort. My time is haf up and over and I think I can stand it a short time and one year and a half if nessisary. I will wait with patience at any rate. I was glad you thought so much of my communication to the Union Village Journal. I feered it might not be worthy of a place in the collums of that sheet. Glad it was axcepted however. I have written several communications to the Press at Iowa City. Have you seen them? I have received all the papers containing them. I will take mothers advice concerning my corespondents and not get fast so I cannot untie it with my teeth, but what of *Wapello and a union* tell me please. I was glad to hear of so much improvement at the old homestead by way of trees and shrubery. Keep on and I wont know the old place when I return but I think I can find out where Cherry lives.

I had a letter from Cleveland in the 22nd this mail. It was quite friendly. They were at Vixburgh or near there. I am glad to hear that you have got a good minister. I hope he may suit the old foggies and allso the fashionable people and serve such a jargle as has allways been kept up in that church.

The Boys are nearly all in good health only two cases of sickness both of these are *scurvy* and I am sorry to

say Archie is one of the *victims*. It is not bad and I think by Dr————care they will get better. I hope so at least.

Archie never hears from home at all never has had but 2 letters from home since he entered the service. I know he is lonesome and anxious and would like to hear from them. He allways asks about you all at home there as if he was one of the family and I show him all your letters. I do wish you would all write to him. Some of you write every little while. It would do him good I know. Wont you do it for a fellow soldier of mine and an old friend.

I remain your most obdt.

Amos

Paper is scarce you will preceive.

Fort La Framboise Dakota Territory
Sabath July 5th/63

Friends at home.

Yesterday our mail arrived but I received "narry" a letter from home, or any other place much to my dissapointment. I will write one however home, for your perusal. Perhaps you can gather some information from it.

I am well and killing time as well as I can under existing circumstances which are anything but pleasent or favorable, for it becomes my duty to anounce the death of two of my fellow soldiers since the 28th of June. Ed Pinney died on that day and died very sudenly. He was not very well on the 27th but was up arround all the time and eat his meals with the rest of the boys on the morning of the 28th. The team was going to Fort Peirre and he said he would go down and get some medicin he rode down and talked laughed and joked and got out of the wagon himself and walked into the Hospital and was to all appearances no worse until about half past five that evening

when he was taken with a congestive chill and died at ten minutes past six that night—this sad occourance has cast a gloom over the whole Co. but he was not the last victim.

Rusell Bartlett went to the Hospital the same day Ed was buried and died in the same way on the 2nd of July. Very suden allso. The Dr was much down hearted at this sad state of affairs and has got the co in very good health again.

He issued an Order that no buiscuit should be eat, and no bacon but pleanty of beef. That there should be roll call at 4 Oclock in the morning drill at fifteen minutes past four breakfast at five dinner at 12 Oclock supper at five and drill again at six in the evening roll call at nine at night taps at quarter past nine and no sleeping in day time at all. That we must exercise more. That is the kind of a Dr he is worth his weight in gold. Samuel Waldron is now in Hospital but is nearly well. Will be ready for duty in a few days. I am in hopes so at least.

All the other boys from Pleasant Valley are well, and in good spirits.

We received Orders to cross the river when the transport *"Belle Perarie"* arrived here with supplys. It is now expected here every hour. It left Randall before the mail did and it reached here last night. The Order read as follows the steemer *"Belle Perarie"* will proceed to Fort Peirre and land her cargo at a point about three miles above and oppisit. The Co of Wissconsin troops on board will land and guard the supplys. Co B 41st Regt Iowa Vol. will cross on the boat and encamp with the other Co and *await Orders.* The ranking Officer wil assume command of the whole.

by Order of Brig Gen A. C. Sully.

So you will see we will cross as soon as this boat arrives which I hope will be soon—The entire expedition under Gen Sully is now this side of Randall as it was there when the mail left. It is expected here in a day or two. Lieut Col Pattee is Ordered to Sioux City to command this district in the absence of Gen Sully. His head Qrs will be at Sioux City Iowa. What will be done with us is more than I can tell now. I cant even geus any where near it. Time will tell. I dont know of any more news at this time so I will stop. There is two disserters from the 6th Iowa Cavalry to be shot at Randall soon so some of the boys wrote up here to me. Good for them. You please all write soon and write to Archie. He gets no letters from any person and he inquires after you every mail. Write to him wont you at home and oblige.

Your most obdt

Ame

Fort La Framboise July 10th/63 *Morning*

There has been no boat here yet and we cannot tell why it is not here. Our Co under command of Lieut Col Pattee starts down the river on sabath morning. We will go to Peirre and cross the river and camp that night and start the next morning for Randall if we dont meet the General before. The Cavalry under Maj Ten Broecke[28] will follow one day in our rear. We leave on the account of being out of rations having only 6 days rations on hands, to take us to Randall short allowance. The Col leaves without orders. He says he wont keep men here any longer.

I have a Robe that Mr. La Framboise[29] gave me and

28 Edward P. Ten Broeck was appointed major in the Sixth Iowa Cavalry on October 21, 1862. He was made lieutenant colonel on June 22, 1864.

29 Probably Francois La Framboise, a nephew of Joseph La Framboise, who was in charge of the fort.

Archie has one. We will pack them up with the other boys robes and send them to Luse and Brother at Iowa City where you can get them. Mine is marked T. W. Cherry. Archies is marked J. S. Cherry. You can call there and get them. If there should be any back charges you can pay them there.

Tuesday, July 5, 1864.[30]

Broke camp at 4 Oclock and marched 32 miles to Beaver Creek. Fine creek. Men and Horses very tired indeed. Ox team did not get in until long after dark. Rear Guard with it. Some Rain to night. Passed Goose Lake. Nice Lake stoney Shores.

Wednesday 6

Left camp at 7 Oclock. Morning quite rainy. Had time getting cross creek over two hours crossing. Crossed a very bad creek on road. Bridged it with grass and dirt. Camped at 2 Oclock. No wood. *Chips* used for fuell for the first time since starting good wood. Day fine.

[30] The expedition under General Sully left Fort Sully on June 28, 1864. The Sixth Iowa Cavalry, Lieutenant Colonel Samuel M. Pollock commanding; three companies of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry, Lieutenant Colonel John Pattee commanding; two companies of the First Dakota Cavalry, commanded by Captain Nelson Miner; four companies of Minnesota cavalry, known as Brackett's Minnesota Battalion, commanded by Major Alfred B. Brackett; an independent company of Indian scouts, commanded by Captain Christian Stufft; and a battery, under Captain Nathaniel Pope, made up the First Brigade. In the Second Brigade, commanded by Colonel Minor F. Thomas, were ten companies of the Eighth Minnesota Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Henry C. Rogers; six companies of the Second Minnesota Cavalry under Colonel Robert N. McLaren; and two sections of the Third Minnesota Battery, under Captain John Jones. The whole force numbered about 2200 men.—*War of the Rebellion: Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 131, 142; English's *Dakota's First Soldiers* in *South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. IX, pp. 273, 274.

Thursday 7

Lay in camp. Genl came from B[illegible]. Encamped 12 miles from Missouri. Day fine. 2d Brigade[31] overtook us camped on our right.

Friday, July 8, 1864

Broke camp at 3 Oclock and marched 15 miles. Camped on Mo. at mouth of Tiny Lake Creek. Country very hilly and rough to day. Creek very bad to cross. New camp. Three Steamers at landing opposite here. Post to be established called *Fort Rice*. Good timber and any amount of it. 4 companies of 300 here.

Saturday 9

Crossed the River and camped near the site of Fort Rice. Fine camp in sight of ruins of old Rea Village on East Bank of River about 2 miles above Rice. Eight steamers here.

Sunday 10

Still in camp. 2d Brigade crossing River on U S Grant and Tempest. Detail for Bridge go out. Genl himself at their head.

Monday, July 11, 1864.

Co K men kill three Buffalo and some antilopes. Day fine. Visited Co F 30th Wis. Good time.

Tuesday 12

Still in camp.

Wednesday 13

Still in camp.

Thursday, July 14, 1864

Still in camp.

Friday 15

Still in camp.

31 The Second Brigade mobilized at Fort Ridgely and marched overland to unite with the First Brigade on the Missouri, a distance of 332 miles.—*War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 38, 39.

Saturday 16

Still Laying in Camp, getting impatient for a move of some kind. Grass getting scarce. Chas M. Beal arrested for stealing money from J. Junk and Charlie [illegible].

Sunday, July 17, 1864.

Grand review of whole Command in Rear of the Camp of 2d Brigade. 30th Wis out with Knapsacks on. Genl calls them damned fools with trunks on, &c. Day awfull hot.

Monday 18

Still in camp. Expect to start tomorrow. Day very warm, indeed.

Tuesday 19

Broke camp at 3 Oclock and Marched 20 miles and camped on Cannon Ball River. Fine stream about the size of *Black Creek*. Very strange hills seen on Right today. Day very hot. Grass poor, indeed.

Wednesday, July 20, 1864.

Left camp on Cannon Ball at 4 Oclock. Day fine with Showers. Marched 20 miles to *Three Beauts* [Three Buttes].[32] Fine camp. Good wood but watter tremendius scarce. Bought pair of Boots for $7.00 of Capt. King formerly of Sully's Staff, now Sutler. Country very rough and hilly to day.

Thursday 21

Left camp at *3 Beauts,* at 3 Oclock marched 19 miles. Camped on Cannon Ball River. Day very hot. Roads rough and hilly bad ravines to cross &c.

Friday 22

Left camp at 4 Oclock. Marched 22 miles and camped on a fine stream of watter. Day fine good grass no wood at all. No more corn for our Horses.

[32] Three Buttes is in Grant County, North Dakota.

Saturday, July 23, 1864.

Marched 19 miles Camped on Branch of Cannon Ball river. Day awfull hot. Hard march several creeks to cross much delay. All day going 19 miles. Camped on fine bottom. Watter poor, night pleasant. Co L on duty as flunkers. Today crossed sand hill before coming into camp.

Sunday 24

Left camp at 3 Oclock and marched over a fine country. Very levell and excellent grass. Marched 25 miles. Encamped on Heart River Small Stream about as Large as *Black Creek* fine clear watter with gravell bottom. Grass poor. Dusty camp with Brigades close togather.

Monday 25th

Laid in Camp all day fixing for trip to Knife River and Kill Deer Mountains[33] after Indians.

Tuesday, July 26, 1864.

Left Camp at Heart River at noon for Knife River. Day very hot. Marched 20 miles and camped on small stream where Scouts had had a fight today nearly a mile in our advance. Capt of Scouts drunk ordered retreat. Lt ordered forward. Capt drew revolver &c. No fires to be built tonight. Maj Bracket runs the Capt of Scouts with saber drawn.

Wednesday 27

Left camp after sleeping on the ground without Blanket or tent all night beside our horses. At 3 Oclock march 18 miles. Camp at 2 Oclock. Camped on Knife river. Fine camp. No fires to burn. Capt Pell curses Co L for having fire.

33 Also known as Tahkahokuty Mountain.

34 For a description of this battle see General Sully's report in *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 142, 143.

Thursday 28

Left camp at Heart River at 3 Oclock marched 12 miles. Scouts discover Sioux camp. Line of battle[34] formed. 6th on Right 7th in center 8th Min on left all dismounted Bracket support 6th. Dakota & Battery the 7th. 2d Min Cav 8th Min Infy. All march forward fight the Indians 6 hours kill 150. Loss 3 men killed 12 wounded. Bracket makes saber charge on them.

Friday, July 29, 1864.

Spent in burning Lodges and property of Sioux[35]. 1600 Lodges burned 50 tons of dried meat distroyed woods set on fire and we leave good Springs on Bluffs. Many dogs shot. Today ten companies at work all day. Camped tonight about 5 miles from battle field. 2 men killed by Indians on Picket. Men ran away from spring of watter. Sergt of Co E 6th Iowa killed on Picket by one of his own men.

Saturday 30

Left camp early and marched 25 miles. Camped at noon on fine creek of watter. Good grass and abundance of it. Dry hot and dusty.

Sunday 31

Left camp early and marched to Heart River again, distance 25 miles. Heavy thunder storm as we were coming into Camp. No tents here yet all at Corral. Every thing wet and every body cold. Camped near our old camp at Corral.

Monday, August 1, 1864.

Still in camp on Heart River. Day fine after the rain. Corn issued to animals which were out in rain and at Fight on Knife River.

[35] A report of this destruction of the Sioux village is given by Colonel R. N. McLaren of the Second Minnesota Cavalry.—*War of the Rebellion: Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 172, 173.

Tuesday 2

Still in camp. Day fine Lt. Col Pattee kicks one of Provost guard out of camp a corporal, for telling one of our men he lied.

Wednesday 3

Left camp near Heart River. Marched 19 miles. Camped on Heart River further up. Day hot. Watter very scarce indeed.

Thursday, August 4, 1864.

Left camp at Heart River and marched 21 miles. Camped on Branch of Knife River again but far to left of our route to *Battle field.* Fine Camp poor grass good watter.

Friday 5

Left camp marched 26 miles. Day very warm. Road very rough, and poor water. Camped in Range of hills called *Mauva Terres* or *Bad Lands.* Watter scarce and far from camp down a steep hill. On watter squad to night good joke on me.

Saturday 6

Left camp at 4 Oclock and marched 13 miles through one of the awfullest countries you ever saw to *Little Missouri* River distance 13 miles. All day going it. Good camp tonight. Fine stream of watter. Plenty of wood left in old camp by Indians last winter. *Pinney Wood.*

Sunday, August 7, 1864.

Battalion of 7th Iowa and detail from other Regts all under Lt. Col Pattee making Roads through hills for train tomorrow. Worked all day. Got 6 miles. Reached where it was some better. Could see day light out the other side. Co K caught in creek by Indians &c, Co L on Picket all day. Some Horses stolen by Indians from 2d Brigade.

Monday 8

Left camp early this morning crossed *Little Mo.* and marched 8 miles fighting all day. Both Batteries at work all the time. Many Indians killed to day. Awfull country for an army to pass through. Rear Guard attacked. 7th Iowa go to support them. Indians draw off. Camped near Pond much worn out all around. Corn issued.

Tuesday 9

Left camp early and marched about 15 miles and camped on open Prairie again near creek or Pond of watter. Very good. Good camp grass scarce however. Fighting all day. 100 horses shot by rear guard. One guide shot to day and carried to ambulance. Great alarm of Indians to night—false alarm.

Wednesday, August 10, 1864.

Left Camp early and marched 19 miles. Camped on Beaver River. Good Watter. Much Sage brushes where we camped. *Col Pollock & Capt Marsh* quarrell about ordering the Battery across River. Orderly Berry Lee & Hull got quite happy to night. Very well Educated indeed.

Thursday 11

Broke camp early. Co L in advance. Capt giving Orderly fits for not having all ready. Orderly tight night before. Slow in moving finally got started. Not a particle of grass all day or watter. March 29 miles. Camp at 9 Oclock at night. Watter much *alkili.* Many Horses give out in road. Watter as bitter as gall. Cant drink the coffie.

Friday 12

Left camp about noon and marched 10 miles to the *Yellow Stone River.* No grass at all to day. None at yellow stone. Cut cotton wood brush for horses tonight.

Col and some men go and get corn from Boat about 2 miles off after night. Pure stream clear and cold very swift current indeed 2 Steamers here. First seen up river.

Saturday, August 13, 1864.

Crossed the *Yellow Stone* this after noon things carried in Boat. Horses and riders swim over also wagons and teams. Several teams drowned. Three men drowned 2 soldiers and an Emigrant. They cross in water tight wagon Boxes. 6th Iowa cross in night—Genl curses terribly because the Boats were so slow. Very much mixed up. Many things lost alltogather.

Sunday 14

Left camp at 3 Oclock and marched 8 miles and camped at the mouth of a creek where there was an abundance of good grass. Horses fill themselves good. Buffalo shot near camp 2 Brigade cross the River. Idaho[36] cross also.

Monday 15

Left Camp at 6 Oclock after grasing horses 2 hours. Day fine and cool. Good grass and any amount of it. Camped near the river twelve miles from the mouth.

Tuesday, August 16, 1864.

Laid in Camp all day. Felt quite unwell all day. A party of hunters sent out kill several Elk and deer report abundance of game. Went about 5 miles down River. Train sent back to where we crossed after Stores to lighten *Steamer* over *Bar.*

Wednesday 17

Our Battalion left Camp by itself and marched to opposite Fort Union. Day fine. No grass at all. Camped in willows that night on bank of River. Corn issued to

36 A train of emigrants bound for the gold fields of Idaho accompanied the Second Brigade.—*War of the Rebellion: Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 168. English's *Dakota's First Soldiers* in *South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. IX, p. 279.

horses much of it stolen besides. German McCardle drowned yesterday.

Thursday 18

Crossed River. Arms and Equipment carried over in "*Yawl*". Horses swim accross river. All pass safly. Fort Union[37] is very pretty place indeed nice painted in fine style. Col of 30th well contented. Indians line [?] up over white mens grave. Go into camp near two miles from Fort. Brackett after Indians.

Friday, August 19, 1864.

Left camp at 5 Oclock and marched one mile and camped near the river and near the ruins of old Fort Williams.[38] Sun dried Bricks roofs all caved in. Big Pit near by where many Indians was burried from Small pox. Skuls visible now. 150 burried in one hole. Received orders at twelve to move down River 5 miles.

Saturday 20

Left camp at 12 and moved down about 5 miles and camped on bank of the River. Good grass and fine camp. Made Landing for Steamer and unloaded the train and loaded it on the Boat again. Capt. Tripp with us. One Co of 2d Brigade here before us. Said they were the advance guard of their Brigade. After grass I guess.

Sunday 21

Still in Camp. Whole Command arrived. Genl & Staff

[37] Fort Union was on the north bank of the Missouri River, not far from the mouth of the Yellowstone River. It was a post of the American Fur Company. A company of the Thirtieth Wisconsin was stationed here at the time of the Sully expedition.—Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade in the Far West,* Vol. III, pp. 958, 959; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 149.

[38] Fort William was also on the left bank of the Missouri River opposite the mouth of the Yellowstone River. It was established in 1833 by Sublette and Campbell and abandoned a year later when this company sold out to the American Fur Company.—Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade in the Far West,* Vol. III, p. 960.

arrive at 10 Oclock day fine. Many sage hens. Boys have fine sport shooting them.

Monday, August 22, 1864.

Left camp after Loading Steamer. Marched 15 miles. Camped on Bottom near River. Day fine showers about 4 Oclock. Grass good. Fine camp. Guide hired at Union to guide us to *Berthold.*[39] Good guide *half Breed.*

Tuesday 23

Left camp after grasing about an hour and marched about 8 miles and camped at noon on *"Big Muddy".*[40] Poor watter. Grass good. Fine camp. Pleasant day but some windy. Passed Medicine poles of Indians when they had the small pox. Clothes still up in crotch of them. All their new goods put there.

Wednesday 24

Left camp at 4 Oclock and marched 24 miles. Camped on Bottom near the River. Good Watter near camp not far to River. Any abundance of good grass. Night very cold indeed. Camp very compact and close.

Thursday, August 25, 1864.

Left camp at 4 Oclock and marched 22½ miles and camped on Little Muddy. Grass poor and scarce. Watter poor. Much *alkili.* Rough country again. Camped up in hills about one mile from River. Go along narrow pass at foot of hills wide enough for one team at a time. Genl Sully curses guards in advance for hunting without orders.

Friday 26

Left camp at 4 Oclock and marched 12 miles & camped on River good watter of course. Good grass to day. Grase often. Horses gaining again. Country Rough but

39 Fort Berthold was built by the American Fur Company in 1845 on the left bank of the Missouri River in what is now McLean County, North Dakota.—*South Dakota Historical Collections,* Vol. I, pp. 359, 360.

40 This was the Missouri River.

some better than yesterday. Horses and men in good trim. Good camp. Good grass. Crossed Large Indian trail to day. Col and Maj Wood go to Steamer.

Saturday 27

Left camp at 4 Oclock and marched 20 miles and camped on river. Good camp and plenty of good grass and watter. No signs of hostile Indians.

Sunday, August 28, 1864.

Left camp at 3 Oclock and marched 25 miles and camped on small creek three miles above Fort Berthold. Fine camp good grass and watter. Plenty of Indians from Fort in camp. Day fine. Lt Col Pattee on Board Steamer sick.

Monday 29

Laid in camp all day. Put in good time sleeping making up lost time. Genl Sully and Indian Rees & Grosvents have a big council. Indians friendly disposed. Genl promised them that he will be here in the Spring again. Co G left at Berthold.

Tuesday 30

Broke camp at 5 Oclock and Marched 12 Miles. Camped on River near Berthold. 5 miles below. Fine camp—any abundance of grass.

Wednesday, August 31, 1864.

Left camp near Fort Berthold and marched to mouth of Snake creek distance 20 miles. Good Roads and good feed and watter, pleasant camp. Troops mustered at 4 Oclock. Camp near the river.

Thursday, September 1

Start for Maison du chien. Left camp on Snake creek and marched 22 miles and camped on two Large Lakes. Saw immense herds of Buffalow all day estimated at 10 thousand. Hunting Party sent out of 24 men on foot on

arrival in camp. Lake much muddy from Buffalow. Grass all fed off &c.

Friday 2

Left camp very Early and marched 22 miles. Camped near Maison du chien a high hill about 2 Miles Long. Some of Officers of Genls Staff went to top of hill about 6 miles distant. Saw for 30 miles each way. No signs of Indians at all. Buffalow in every direction except to north. Watter very poor. Sick [?] Buffalow dying [?] in pond.

Saturday, September 3, 1864.

Left camp early and took up our March in direction of Fort Rice D. T. about 60 miles distant. Passed over hilly country. Many Lakes. Heavy rain and wind. Command thoroughly wet through. Horses wheeled into Line when halted. Saw immense herds of Buffalow all day. Hunting parties out killed great many of them. Run them into collumn. Great many arrested by Provost. Co L on advance guard today.

Sunday 4

Laid in camp all day on fine Lake of watter. No wood. Much trouble cooking. Buffalow chips wet from last nights rain. Co L no Breakfast. Invited to eat with Lt. Courtwright Co. We did so. Good meal. Bitters before Eating. Made monthly return for August to day. Lt. Col Pattee Cooper and Ryan Hunting.

Monday 5

Left camp early and marched about 20 miles and camped on fine creek. Either *Apple River* or *Painted Wood*. Day very cool with high wind all day. Immense herds of Buffalow seen all day. Grass good all day.

Tuesday, September 6, 1864.

Left camp on *Painted Wood* and Marched 23 Miles

through a drenching Rain. All wet and much fatigued. Left the 2d Brigade far in rear. Many Horses and Mules give out. Several Battery Horses give out. Horses put in co teams in place of mules give out. Went into Camp. No watter and no wood except some Indian wood. Old Indian camp. Good fire and good supper.

Wednesday 7

Left camp early. Day very fine. Camped on Apple Creek near Sibleys[41] old camp of last year. Good camp. Excellent watter. Crossed Sibleys old trail. Very dim indeed. Col & Capt Cooper crossed down to Sibleys Camp &c.

Thursday 8

Left camp at 3 Oclock and marched 18 miles and camped on high piece of table land overlooking the River. Good grass. River near at Hand. Passed 2d Brigade in camp about 3 miles back. They in good camp. Genl gone on to Fort Rice Col Pollock in command. About 8 miles from Rice.

Friday, September 9, 1864.

Left camp at 6 Oclock. Marched about 12 miles and camped on the River Bank about 2 miles below Fort Rice. Heard of Capt Fisk's[42] trip and fight at White Beaut. Col Dille sends all our men left sick at Fort Rice D. T. also their Horses. Genl very mad. Went to Rice with Col after dark. Got mail today.

Saturday 10

Still in camp. Men to be sent to the Relief of Capt Fisk and party. 100 men from 7th Iowa. Day very

[41] General Henry H. Sibley had made a campaign in this region in 1863.

[42] James L. Fisk was in command of an emigrant train which had been attacked by the Indians. He was captain in the United States army on special duty.—*War of the Rebellion: Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 132, 151-154, 169, 795.

pleasant indeed. Went to Fort after dark with mail. Corpl Poland goes along. Good fellow. Col gone to Rice not back tonight. Detachment leave for Cap Fisk.

Sunday 11

Still in camp. Good grass and watter. Wood getting scarce. Very high wind indeed all day. Col not back yet. 100 Men go from Battalion to the Relief of Capt Fisk. Col Dill Comds Expedition 1000 Men.

Monday, September 12, 1864.

Laid in camp all day. Day very warm and pleasant. Visited *"Rice"*. Saw Sergt Cumby [?]. Presented with Pair of Pants of which I was much in need, also. Bottle of nice grape Jelly. Very nice. Fine visit. Billy bully fellow. Returned to camp with 2nd Lt of Neb Scouts. Good fellow.

Tuesday 13

In camp all day. Day very cool and somewhat rainy. Detail gone up to build Boats for men in *Rain* [?].

Wednesday 14

Laid in camp all day. Fine day.

Thursday, September 15, 1864.

Still in camp. Fine day.

Friday 16

Still in camp. Day fine. Lt. Luse goes aboard of *Chippewa Falls* Sick.

Saturday 17

Still in camp. Very windy and cold. Sand flew at a terrible rate filling tents and cooking utensils full of sand. No cooking done today being impossible. Capt Cooper goes aboard of Chippewa Falls Sick.

Sunday, September 18, 1864.

Still in camp. Fine day. Cooking again resumed. Something to eat again. Tents cleaned out again, &c, &c. Laid around camp and slept all day.

Monday 19

Pleasant day. Visited Fort Rice in co with Corpl Poland took Super with Sergt Cumbey [?] Co F 30th Wis. Vol.[43] Fine time. Called on our boys building Boats also on Lt. Col. Pattee who was at the Fort. Fine Boats. Sergt Emerson and Amlong arrive from Sully with dispach. Atlanta taken by Sherman. Alabama troops at Sioux City Iowa.

Tuesday 20

In camp all day feel quite bad. Threatened with fever. Move in tent at Head Quarters to get out of Gray Backs, &c.

Wednesday, September 21, 1864.

Laid in camp all day. Felt quite sick all day and all last night. Day pleasant. One Sergt killed by Indians from Co L 6th Iowa. Corpl Thompson escaped by swimming river to the Fort. Scouting Parties out after the Indians &c. Got corn for our horses. 4 P[illegible].

Thursday 22

Laid in camp all day. Very unwell. Cold chills all day. Day very raw and cold.

Friday 23

Laid in camp all day. Quite unwell. Cold chills and soreness in my whole person. Continued quite sick all day.

Saturday, September 24, 1864.

Day cold and raw with some wind. Felt very badly all day. Suffered very much with *head ache* an awfull *head ache*. Went to Dr. Bardwells and received Quinine which only made it worse, than before.

[43] Five companies of the Thirtieth Wisconsin Infantry were stationed at Fort Rice.—*War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 135.

Sunday 25

Laid in camp all day. Suffered all day again and all last night with an awfull pain in head. Got better at night some.

Monday 26

Laid in camp all day. Felt quite unwell and suffered much from pain in head. Mail arrived today. *Schells Woman* comes up on mail to see her *pimp Jim Franks.*

Tuesday, September 27, 1864.

In camp again felt much better to day. Party of men hauling hay from "Cannon Ball River" attack[ed]. One Sergt Killed and one man wounded. Parties of Indians seen in several places crossing the river below where our horses are grasing &c. Capt. Fisk heard from. Messengers from Col Dill arrive out 70 miles. Much rejoicing in camp.

Wednesday 28

Still in Camp. Received Orders to draw rations for down trip. An extra team and wagon issued to each co. to day. Mail leaves. *Schells woman* on board. *Hipple* & *Hinchliffe* Co L and Irish Co M Tompkins Co K go down as escort. Amlong and Emmerson also return with it to Fort Sully.

Thursday 29

Still in Camp. Start below tomorrow morning. Visited Fort Rice today. Called on Billy Cumbey and friends of Co F.

Friday, September 30, 1864.

Left camp for Sully all in high glee over an order to march. Ambulance train from Col Dill got in last night. Report many sick. Command get in to day. Met mail with Old Brigher[44] 8 mile out from Camp marched fifteen miles and camped near Beaver Creek. Good Camp.

44 Possibly this is James Bridger, who sometimes acted as a guide for the troops.—*War of the Rebellion: Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 1, p. 256.

Saturday, October 1

Left camp and marched 37 miles. Camped at Du Bois Creek. Reached camp long after dark. Met Geo Pleats with three Indians. He had been taken Prisoner by two Bears Band when going up with an Express to Genl Sully. Capt Miner sent after the Indians. Got to camp at night with 8 Indians.

Sunday 2

Left camp 7 Oclock after grasing my horses two hours. Marched 27 miles and camped at *Lost Timber*. Day very windy and cold. Camped by ourselves tonight. Went over a mile and cut grass for my horse.

Monday, October 3, 1864.

Left camp at an early hour and marched to Swan Lake Creek 19 miles. Fine day. Good camp and good supper.

Tuesday 4

Left camp at day Break and marched to Artichoke Creek 30 miles. Fine day but very poor camp. No wood. No grass at all hardly. Got in Late Very.

Wednesday 5

Left camp at Artichoke Creek and marched to *Oak Boje* [Okobojo] 20 miles from camp. Good grass but wood quite scarce. Orders issued assigning troops to their Stations for the winter. &c.

Thursday, October 6, 1864.

Left Camp at Sun Rise and marched to near Fort Sully and camped in the woods all scattered over the Brush. Very windy. Went to Sully and stayed over night with Edd. Plenty of good living there. Good time.

Friday 7

Started for camp. Met the Battalion on their way down. Stopped at the Fort and got all our things and moved to near Medicine Creek and camped. Good Camp. Capt Mahana at Sully. Lt. Ryan in Command. Good time.

Saturday 8

Left Camp at Sun Rise and marched about 20 miles and camped on a creek off the Road about six Miles from La Chapelle creek. Good camp. Iowa 6th in advance.

Sunday, October 9, 1864.

Left camp at Sun Rise and marched to Crow Creek Agency 30 miles. Met the mail and stoped it. Got our mail out. Got a letter from Mother. Col Pollock about ten miles ahead. Genl Sully and Brackett's Battalion 5 miles in rear also the Battery.

Monday 10

Left camp at 7 Oclock and passed through agency. Camped on East fork of crow creek. Marched 20 miles. Day fine. Good camp but poor grass. Tonight looks like storm. Got horse shod at Agency. Col Pollock leaves some horses. Genl very angry at it.

Tuesday 11

Left camp at Crow Creek and marched 18 Miles. Camped on Red Lake. Fine camp. Genl Sully and Brackett arrive and camp near us. Large camp of Yanktonais Indians also camp near.

Wednesday, October 12, 1864.

Left camp at Red Lake and marched to Pratt [Platte] Creek. Went into Camp on fine bottom. Wood scarce and watter good. Good grass. Genl Sully and Escort arrived quite late and go into camp near. Left camp this morning before day light.

Thursday 13

Left Camp at Pratte [Platte] Creek at 4 Oclock and marched to bottom above Randall. Fine Camp. Good wood and Missouri watter.

Friday 14

Broke camp at seven Oclock and marched three or four

miles and camped in the thick timber. Good camp. Flat-Boat-fleet arrived from Rice all safe. Sergt Wright and myself went to Randall crossed the Missouri in canoe rowed by two Squaws. Reached camp at Midnight.

Saturday, October 15, 1864

Left camp at 6 Oclock and Marched to Branch of *Choteau Creek* near two fine springs. Good camp and fine watter. Traveled about 25 miles. Passed through the Yankton Agency. Looks all in ruins allmost. Agent running for Congress.

Sunday 16

Left Camp at 4 Oclock marched 25 miles & camped at *Bon homme.* Passed Bracketts Battalion before they were up. Took them down to have the 7th march 4 Miles & pass them in Bed. Passed Co D 30th Wis and Dakota cav and scouts on the road also. Fine camp tonight.

Monday 17

Left camp at 4½ Oclock. Marched 20 miles. Passed through Yankton the Capital. Quite a fine town for Dakota. Much improved since 1861. Camped on James River. Passed the whole thing to day and were the first Co to reach James River. Co D go by Bottom.

Tuesday, October 18, 1864.

Left Camp on James River at 4 Oclock. Left the whole thing behind us in camp yet. Genl Sully says the 7th *is hell on* getting up early aint they, when he heard us marching out of camp. Passed through Vermillion. Some of Co I 7th Iowa there. Fine day in camp in woods at Hulls Point.

Wednesday 19

Left Camp at 4 Oclock and marched 25 miles and crossed the Big Sioux River and once more are camped on the soil of our *Beloved Iowa.* Good camp. Many of the boys

drunk and much fighting in Co K. Bob Smith gets hamered by a Frenchman. Snow to night.

Thursday 20

Received orders last night to recross the River into Dakota & camp. Crossed as ordered and camped at Sioux Point 2 miles below opposite Brighers residence. Thick woods and good watter.

Friday, October 21, 1864.

Laid in Camp all day. Day cold and Raw with some snow and Rain. Total distance marched from Sully back to Sioux City 1369 miles and from Sioux City the trip back there 1669 miles and 1000 men sent after Fisk marched 400 miles extra from the above *on foot.*

Saturday 22

Still in camp. All in high spirits. Fine day. A general time all arround. Time up to night. *hurrah for hurrah*

Sunday 23

Still in camp. Fine day and all in high glee. Time out to night. Good.

Monday, October 24, 1864.

Fine day. Went to Sioux City in company with Corpl Trimble. Eat dinner at Lt. Robinsons Co D 30th Wis. Good dinner of Potatoes & onions fresh beefe and good light Bread & Butter. Town very dry. In my oppinion a very poor Town to live in.

Wednesday 26

Still in Camp. Clear day. Turned over all my traps today. Pay Master arrived from Randall last night.

Thursday, October 27, 1864.

Still in Camp at Sioux Point D T

Friday 28

Moved Camp up the Missouri river about a mile. Good camp. Thick woods and brush.

Saturday 29

Still in camp. Day fine.

Sunday, October 30, 1864.

Still in Camp. Time drags heavily. Finishing up back returns and papers. Nearly done.

Monday 31

Morning

Still in camp.

Noon

Co Mustered out. I not mustered out not being informed that Co was to be mustered out so soon.

Tuesday, November 1.

Paid off. Mustered out and start for home. Good time and happy as a clam. Mahana Wieneke McCaddon Page Trimble McNeill & Pumphrey and I come home together. Good crowd. Reach station 20 miles out.

Wednesday, November 2, 1864.

Left Station early this morning. Had rough night last night. Slept amongst Steel traps and no blankets. Good meals however. House 9 by 10 feet. Travel 30 miles today. Reach Ida Grove. Good place. Went through "Correctionville". Judge Moreheads.

Thursday 3

Left Ida Grove before sun rise. Travel 30 miles and reach Sac City small town on Coon river. Small stream. Good Hotel. Found Miss Bent there. Called on her. Spent pleasant evening "Very".

Friday 4

Left Sac City early. Traveled 50 miles to Jefferson. Fine town. Very loyal indeed. Found about 30 of our boys ahead of us here all out in ranks drilling. Ladies very patriotic and good looking indeed. Fine town.

Saturday, November 5, 1864.

Left Jefferson at sun rise and traveled to Boonesboro.

Fine town but full of Rebels "Copperheads". Copperhead meeting to night. Boys raise hob with the Dance at Parker House. Sick tonight some.

Sunday 6

Left Boonesboro at sun rise and came to Nevada, 30 miles. Fine town. Terminus of Rail road. Stop at the National Hotel. Good place. Lay over all day. Good time.

Monday 7

Left Nevada on 4 Oclock train for the East. Reach Blairs Town at 8 Oclock. Stop at Browns Hotel. Good place. The other boys go to Marengo. Tonight rain to hard for our load. Stay all night at Blairs town.

Tuesday, November 8, 1864.

Hire double wagon and go to Marengo in time for 9 Oclock freight train. Get aboard and go into Iowa City in time for dinner at Clinton House. Go to Election. Vote for old Abe and reach home at dark. Rain all yesterday and to day much mud.

"End"

III

LETTER OF JOSIAH F. HILL

Fort Randall, Da, Ter, Oct., 22nd 1865.

Mr. L. D. Dutton

Dear Friend:

Thinking that it might be interesting to you to hear something about our summer campaign I thought I would improve a few spare moments in writing to you. Our Batt. left Sioux City on the 8th of June & arrived at Fort Sully on the 22nd. We were joined in a few days by

General Sully with the ballance of his command, which consisted of four companies of the 6th Iowa cavalry, four companies of Minnesota cavalry, called Brackett's Batt., a battery of four guns & part of Co. B., 1st Dakotah cavy., acting as a body guard for the Gen. We broke camp on the 5th of July & started to Fort Rice, at which post we arrived on the 13th. We were then nearly five hundred miles from Sioux City. On the 23rd we were again on the march bound for Minniewaken, or Dakotah Lake.[45] On the 28th we camped near a band of Pembinaue, or Red river half-breeds.[46] Their train consisted of nine hundred carts, with scarcely a bit of iron to be seen about them. There was two other bands not far distant. They come into the territory three times a year for the purpose of procuring robes & meat. We reached the lake on the 29th. It is situated in 40 [48] N. lat. & 99′ 15″ W. lon. The water is saltish, & it is said to be forty miles in length. It is distant from Rice 132 miles. There is some timber near the lake & an island in it. We had to use Buffalo chips all the way from Rice to cook our grub with. We did not find any Indians near the lake or any signs of their having been there lately. The Gen. heard that the Red skins were on Mouse river, so on the 2nd of Aug. we struck out. We reached the Mouse on the 4th, but "nary" Indian. On the 8th we got to Fort Berthold, having marched since we left Rice about 245 miles. We saw thousands of buffalo & we had no trouble in supplying ourselves with plenty of the best fresh meat. I killed

[45] Devil's Lake, the largest lake in North Dakota.—See letter of General Alfred Sully, *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 2, pp. 1145-1147.

[46] The Pembina Band of Ojibways lived in the northeast corner of North Dakota, along the Red River of the North.—Gilfillan's *Names of the Ojibways in the Pembina Band, North Dakota*, in *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II, p. 150.

several. On the night of the 18th we were visited by a very severe storm of rain & hail. The wind blew our tents down & the hail pelted the horses so hard that a number of them broke from the lines, but they were all found next day. A few moments after it quit raining a wall of water three or four feet high came rushing down the creek bottom on which Co. M. were camped. It carried everything before it. Several of the boys had narrow escapes with their lives. The boys fished out nearly all their lost property the next day. We broke camp & started for Fort Rice on the 20th & got to our destination on the 25th, marching 37 miles the day we got in. The Indians had made an attack on the fort a day or two after we started to Devils lake, but they were driven off. They killed one soldier & wounded two, one of whom afterwards died. It was not known how many of the red devils were "nepoed" as it is their custom to carry off their killed & wounded if possible. The murdering villains killed a man in the timber within forty rods of camp on the 28th. He belonged to Brackett's Batt., & was a fine man & leaves a wife & children to mourn his untimely fate. We had to build a large store house before we started down the river. It was finished on the fourth & the command started down the river on the 5th. We reached fort Sully on the 11th & on the 14th our Batt. was ordered below to relieve the 6th cavy which has gone below & I suppose has been mustered out ere this. Our Co. arrived here and releived the troops stationed here on the 22nd. Co. L. are building a fort on the Niobrara river 30 miles south of this. Co. M. are building a fort on the James or Dakotah river. We are very badly disappointed. We had no idea but that we would be mustered out this fall. Brackett's Batt. is a veteran organization

also, & the boys belonging to it talk just as ours do, that is if they had their pay they would bid Uncle Sam good by. I would not blame them if they did for we have served now several months longer than we agreed to. There is nearly ten months pay due us. The Paymaster is expected here the first of next month. The duty is not so very hard but it goes terribly against the grain to soldier now the war is over. I think we are in for another six months but I may be agreeably disappointed. I heard from Abe a few days since. He was well. As soon as we are paid I will send money to square accounts between you & I. Give my best wishes to your family. Please answer soon & let me know how my family & yours are prospering, also the folks generally. Direct to Co. K. 7th Iowa Cavalry, Fort Randall, Da., Ter. From your friend

Josiah F. Hill.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

American Indian Life. Edited by Elsie Clews Parsons. New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1922. Pp. 419. Maps, plates. This volume is a compilation of twenty-seven stories of Indian characters so written that they present a picture of Indian life and beliefs. These stories are collected in eight groups according to the geographical location of the tribe described and are usually biographical sketches of Indian characters.

The list of contributors is a long one and includes many names well known to students of ethnology. The stories of the plains Indians are told by Robert H. Lowie and Clark Wissler; eastern stories by Frank G. Speck, Alexander A. Goldenweiser, M. R. Harrington, and John R. Swanton; middle western stories by Alanson Skinner, Paul Radin, and Truman Michelson; stories of the southwest by P. E. Goddard, Elsie Clews Parsons, Stewart Culin, Leslie Spier, and A. L. Kroeber; Mexican Indian stories by J. Alden Mason, Herbert Spinden, Sylvanus G. Morley, and Alfred M. Tozzer; tales of the Pacific Coast Indians by N. C. Nelson, T. T. Waterman, and Edward Sapir; stories of northern Athabascan tribes by Robert H. Lowie and T. B. Reed; and stories of the Eskimo, by Franz Boas. The introduction is written by A. L. Kroeber, who describes the volume as "a picture of native American life, in much the sense that a series of biographies of one statesman, poet, or common citizen from each country of Europe would yield a cross-sectional aspect of the civilization of that continent."

The stories are in fictional form and are remarkably vivid. The writers have attempted to select certain customs characteristic of the various tribes and to weave these into a story of some Indian man or woman.

The volume is attractively printed and bound and is provided with plates, maps, and a bibliography and notes on the various tribes of Indians.

James Hall of Albany, Geologist and Palaeontologist. By John

M. Clarke. Albany: S. C. Bishop. 1921. Pp. 569. Plates. This volume is not only a biography of a distinguished scientist, but also indirectly a source of information relating to the study of geology and palaeontology. James Hall was born at Hingham, Massachusetts, on September 12, 1811, and died at Echo Hill, New Hampshire, on August 6, 1898. Having received two years of training at the Rensselaer School, Hall became interested in the study of geology and for the remainder of his long and active career devoted his time to the study of geology and allied subjects.

In 1855 James Hall was appointed State Geologist of Iowa by Governor James W. Grimes. Although he personally spent little time in Iowa, the survey of the State was carried on under his direction, and much of the credit of the work belongs to him. Unfortunately the survey was discontinued in 1859 before it was completed and the two parts of volume one of the report issued cover only the eastern part of the State. Mr. Hall was also the first professor of geology and natural history in the State University of Iowa but this position seems to have been merely nominal.

The most important work of Hall, however, was in New York where he did his greatest work in geological research. His long period of activity, his familiarity with many fields, and his acquaintance with American and European geologists make the volume a valuable source of information concerning men in similar fields.

A list of the honors awarded Mr. Hall and an index completes the volume.

The Journal of American Genealogy is the title of a new quarterly magazine published by the National Historical Society. The first number is dated March, 1921.

The *Year Book of The Holland Society of New York,* for the years 1920 and 1921 has recently been distributed.

A Report on the Archaeology of Maine, prepared by Warren K. Moorehead, has recently been issued by the Department of Archaeology of the Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.

The American Historical Review for April contains a report of

the meeting of the American Historical Association at St. Louis in December, 1921. There are also two articles—*The School for Ambassadors,* by J. J. Jusserand, and *Jay's Treaty and the Northwest Boundary Gap,* by Samuel F. Bemis.

Negro Congressmen a Generation After, by Alrutheus A. Taylor, and *The Priority of the Silver Bluff Church and its Promoters,* by Walter H. Brooks, are two of the papers in the April number of *The Journal of Negro History.*

Three of the articles in the April *Americana* are the following: *Women Patriots and Heroines of New York State in the Revolution,* by Amelia Day Campbell, *Dickinson College and Its Background,* by Charles W. Super, and *John Woolman's Cottage,* by Caroline Ladd Crew.

The Americanism of Andrew Jackson, by Frank J. Klingberg, *The Middle States and the Embargo of 1808,* by Louis Martin Sears, and *Pro-Slavery Propaganda in American Fiction of the Fifties,* by Jeannette Reid Tandy, are three articles of historical interest in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for April.

The Geographical Names Used by the Indians of the Pacific Coast, by T. T. Waterman, is one of the articles of historical interest in *The Geographical Review* for April. Two other articles relating to history are *Geographic Factors in the Relations of the United States and Cuba,* by D. S. Whittlesey, and *The Geography of History: A Review,* by Douglas Johnson.

One of the contributions to a recent number of the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* is a monograph by Quincy Wright on *The Control of the Foreign Relations of the United States: The Relative Rights, Duties, and Responsibilities of the President, of the Senate and the House, and of the Judiciary, in Theory and in Practice.*

Major Howell Tatum's Journal While Acting Topographical Engineer (1814) to General Jackson, edited by John Spencer Bassett, is published in *Smith College Studies in History* for October, 1921, to April, 1922.

The Ethics of the Professions and of Business is the general subject of a large number of papers in the May number of *The*

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. There are also four articles relating to China.

Aboriginal Tobaccos, by William Albert Setchell, *A Preliminary Report on the So-called "Bannerstones",* by John Leonard Baer, and *The Linguistic and Ethnological Position of the Nambicúara Indians,* by Rudolph Schuller, are three articles in the *American Anthropologist* for October-December, 1921.

Fire Worship of the Hopi Indians, by J. Walter Fewkes, and *Racial Groups and Figures in the Natural History Building of the United States Museum,* by Walter Hough, are two of the papers in the 1920 *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution.*

The Woodland Indians, by H. C. Hill, and *Literature in the Synthetic Study of History,* by M. E. Curti, are two of the papers in *The Historical Outlook* for April. In the May number G. M. Dutcher contributes an article entitled *A Problem of Historical Analogy* and D. C. Knowlton writes of the *Relation of Geography to the Social Studies. The Immigrant in American History,* by Carl Wittke, *The Window of World History—and the Educational Vista,* by Eldon Griffin, and *Columbia College Course on Contemporary Civilization,* by J. J. Coss, are three articles in the June number.

The United States and World Organization, by Edwin D. Dickinson, *Ministerial Responsibility and the Separation of Powers,* by Charles Grove Haines, and a second installment of *Constitutional Law in 1920-21,* by Edward L. Corwin, are three papers in the May issue of *The American Political Science Review.* Among the shorter contributions are *Amendments to State Constitutions, 1919-21,* by Charles Kettleborough; *Governors' Messages, 1922,* by Ralph S. Boots; and *The Washington Conference,* by Quincy Wright.

The Crisis of 1920 in the United States: A Quantitative Survey, by Warren M. Persons, *The Crisis of 1920 and the Problem of Controlling Business Cycles,* by Wesley C. Mitchell, *The Present Position of American Trade Unionism,* by George E. Barnett, *Constitutional Government in American Industries,* by Wm. M. Leiserson, *The Railroad Situation,* by Walker D. Hines, *The Core of the Railroad Problem,* by Logan G. McPherson; *The*

Present Status of Workmen's Compensation in the United States, by E. H. Downey, *Industrial Accident and Compensation Statistics,* by Charles H. Verrill and *The Economic Basis of Federation in Central America,* by Harry T. Collings, are the chief papers included in the *Papers and Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association* which appears as a supplement to the March number of *The American Economic Review.*

WESTERN AMERICANA

The *Proceedings of the Wyoming Commemorative Association* for 1920 contains an address by Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., on *Patriotism and History.* In the *Proceedings* for 1921 is a paper, by William Elliot Griffis, entitled *Was Brant at Wyoming?*

Art and Artists in New Orleans Since Colonial Times, by Isaac M. Cline, is a short contribution to the *Biennial Report of the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum* for 1920-1921.

Marshal Foch Day, an account of the reception of Marshal Ferdinand L. Foch at Indianapolis, Indiana, on November 4, 1921, has recently been published by the Indiana Historical Commission.

The Departed Waters of Detroit, by J. V. Campbell, is the sketch published in the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for April. In the following number is a short paper, *City Planning in Old Detroit.*

The Fundamental Elements of Northern Yana, by E. Sapir, *Ifugao Economics,* by R. F. Barton, and *Functional Families of the Patwin,* by W. C. McKern, are three monographs which have recently appeared in the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.*

Robert M. McBride and Company have recently published *A Tour Through Indiana in 1840,* edited by Kate Milner Rabb. This is written in the form of a diary by a young man named John Parsons of Petersburg, Virginia, who is represented as making a tour through Indiana and writing up his experiences. The volume is attractively bound, and contains numerous illustrations, while the style and content are both unusually interesting. In spite of its title and form, however, this is not history but historical fiction

showing much familiarity with early times, places, and people. The book is provided with an index, and contains, in a very readable form much valuable information as to early methods of travel and manner of living.

The Proceedings of Third Annual Conference on Indiana History has recently been issued as *Bulletin* No. 15, by the Indiana Historical Commission. The conference was held at Indianapolis on December 9 and 10, 1921. Among the addresses and papers included are the following: *Jonathan Jennings, the First Governor of Indiana,* by Samuel M. Ralston; *The Local Library—a Center for Historical Material,* by William J. Hamilton; *Kinds of Material to be Preserved for Historical Purposes,* by Esther U. McNitt; *The Value and Importance of Historical Markers,* by Robert L. Moorhead; *The Writing of Family Histories,* by Edgar T. Forsyth; *Indiana's Part in the Butler Expedition to New Orleans During the Civil War,* by Rufus Dooley; *Local Pioneer History as Seen through Local Pioneer Laws,* by George R. Wilson; *The Possibilities of Historical Pilgrimages,* by Amos W. Butler and Ben F. Stuart; *Creole Customs in Old Vincennes,* by Anna C. O'Flynn; and *Some Old-Fashioned Indiana Writers,* by Mrs. Demarchus C. Brown.

IOWANA

The April number of *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* contains a continuation of *Physicians Who Located in Iowa in the Period between 1850 and 1860,* by D. S. Fairchild.

A report of the meeting of the National Conference of Bar Associations and an article on the *Legal Status of American Indian and His Property,* by Karl J. Knoepfler, are the papers in the May number of the *Iowa Law Bulletin.*

The April issue of the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Iowa Masonic Library* contains an article entitled *Items of Interest to Iowans,* by Newton R. Parvin. This contains short accounts of various interesting places and episodes in Iowa and some references on each one.

Installation of a Memorial Tablet Commemorating the Services of the 351st Infantry, 88th Div., A. E. F. is the title of the first article in the *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1921. The presentation

occurred on August 12, 1921. *The Lewis and Clark Expedition in Its Relation to Iowa History and Geography,* prepared by David C. Mott, *Black Hawk: Some Account of His Life, Death and Resurrection,* reprinted from Gregg's *Dollar Monthly and Old Settlers' Memorial* and *The Future Seat of Government,* reprinted from the same periodical, are other contributions to this number.

A series of newspaper articles by Richard Herrmann has recently been published in book form by the Dubuque Times-Journal Company under the title *Julien Dubuque, His Life and Adventures.* The story of Iowa's first white settler is unusually interesting, combining as it does the occupation by the Indians and the whites and the rivalry of the French, Spanish, and English for the Great Valley and the land west of the Mississippi. In this book Mr. Herrmann has collected a large number of the facts and legends concerning Dubuque and the first white settlement at the "Mines of Spain".

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

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The Hoover War Collection at Stanford University, California. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press. 1922.

Albert, Henry,
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Aldrich, Bess Streeter,
Nell Cutter's White Elephants (The American Magazine, April, 1922).
The Present Generation (The American Magazine, May, 1922).

Allan, Bundy,
The X-Ray in the Diagnosis and Management of Fractures (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).

Andrew, L. A.,

Banks Have Learned Necessity of Keeping Assets Liquid (The Northwestern Banker, May, 1922).

Artis, G. H., (Joint author)

Soil Survey of Johnson County, Iowa. Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture. 1922.

Bailey, Alfred M.,

The School in Arctic Alaska (The Iowa Alumnus, April, 1922).

Baldwin, Bird T., (Joint author)

Mental Growth of Normal and Superior Children (University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Volume II, No. 1).

Beach, Lena A.,

Finger Prints (Bulletin of State Institutions, January, 1922).

Bergman, Ted,

Production of Coal and Water Gas (The Iowa Engineer, May, 1922).

Birge, E. G., (Joint author)

Health Hazards in the Pearl Button Industry (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).

Bordwell, Percy,

Mistake and Adverse Possession (Iowa Law Bulletin, March, 1922).

Brown, Bernice,

Stephen Douglas d'Artagnan (Collier's Weekly, May 6, 1922).

Brown, Charles Reynolds,

The Honor of the Church. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 1922.

Buell, Mary Van Rennslaer, (Joint author)

A Metabolic Study of Progressive Pseudohyperthrophic Muscular Dystrophy and Other Muscular Strophies (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).

Bunch, C. C.,

Demonstration of the Improved Methods of Measuring the Tonal Range Showing Progressive Development of the

Apparatus (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).

Results Obtained from One Year's Use of the Audiometer in the Otological Clinic (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).

Butler, Ellis Parker,

Ghosts What Ain't (The American Magazine, May, 1922).

What Would the Boys We Were Think of Us Now? (The Saturday Evening Post, June 24, 1922).

Byfield, Albert H., (Joint author)

The Antineuritic and Growth Stimulating Properties of Orange Juice (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).

The Etiology of Arthritis Deformans in Children (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).

Calhoun, Henrietta A.,

Effect of Injection of Nonspecific Protein on Diptheria Virulence Tests in Guinea Pigs (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).

Resumé on the Circulatory System Literature of 1920 (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).

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Chen, James S. C.,

Vacuum Process Has Varied Uses (The Iowa Engineer, May, 1922).

Church, Zala A.,

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Conkling, Wilbur S.,

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Corcoran, Harry J.,
Fire Protection Engineering (The Transit, March, 1922).

Craig, Hardin,
Some Problems of Scholarship in the Literature of the Renaissance, Particularly in the English Field (Philological Quarterly, April, 1922).

Crane, O. E.,
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Daniels, Amy L., (Joint author)
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Dean, L. W., (Joint author)
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Devine, Edward T.,
More about the Klan (The Survey, April 8, 1922).
The Klan in Texas (The Survey, April 1, 1922).

Downey, Ezekiel H.,
The Present Status of Workmen's Compensation in the United States (The American Economic Review, Supplement, March, 1922).

Dubridge, Elizabeth Browne,
Arbutus (People's Popular Monthly, April, 1922).

Eldred, Myrtle Meyer,
Blue Eyes and Knitted Ties (Household Journal, May, 1922).

Elwell, J. Ambrose,
Soil Survey of Mahaska County, Iowa. Washington: Department of Agriculture, 1922.

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Alaska's Great Natural Resources (The Iowa Engineer, April, 1922).

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Gallaher, Ruth Augusta,
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A Case of Alkaptonuria with a Study of Its Metabolism (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).
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Some Observations on Creative Formation in a Case of Progressive Pseudohyperthrophic Muscular Dystrophy (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).

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Biologic Studies of the Diptheria Bacillus (University of Iowa Studies in Medicine, Volume II, No. 2).
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Applied Physiology or a Plea for a Comprehensive View of Disease (Bulletin of State Institutions, October, 1921).

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A Coal Oversight (Bulletin of State Institutions, October, 1921).

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The Problem of Prosperity and the Part In It Played by the American Railroads. New York: Association of Railway Executives. 1922.

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Souls for Sale. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1922.

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Recollections of the Old River, by J. M. Turner, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* April 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, May 6, 13, 20, 27, June 3, 10, 17, 24, 1922.

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A history of the Rock Island Railroad, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* April 3, 1922.

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Sketch of the life of C. D. Leggett, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* April 6, 1922.

Sketch of the life of J. S. Hunnicutt of Tama, in the *Tama News,* April 6, 19, 1922, and the *Toledo News,* April 13, 1922.

Some early history of Benton County, in the *Vinton Eagle,* April 7, 14, 21, 28, May 5, 12, 19, 26, June 2, 9, 16, 23, 1922.

The homestead of Bartholomew Sheridan, in the *Dubuque Herald,* April 9, 1922.

Early days in Bancroft, by Verne S. Ellis, in the *Swea City Herald,* April 13, 1922.

Flag from Ehrenbreitstein in Iowa, in the *Eddyville Tribune,* April 14, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Jasper N. Bell of Bell's Mill community, in the *Webster City Journal,* April 14, 1922.

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Early history of Linn County, by M. E. Hinkley, in the *Center Point Independent,* April 20, 1922.

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Reminiscences of pioneer days in Iowa by George W. Henderson, in the *Rolfe Arrow,* April 21, 1922, and the *Lake Park News,* May 3, 1922.

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How the towns of Lee County were named, in the *Donnellson Review,* April 21, May 4, 1922.

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How Montrose was named, in the *Fort Madison Democrat,* April 22, 1922.

Old "Belmont capitol" now used as a livery stable, in the *Dubuque Herald,* April 23, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Evans Blake, in the *Sioux City Journal,* April 26, 1922.

Bones of pre-historic animal found at Dubuque, in the *New Hampton Gazette,* April 26, 1922.

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The story of the Half-breed Tract, by Ralph B. Smith, in the *Keokuk Gate City,* April 27, 1922.

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Sketch of the life of C. S. Turneaure, in the *Waterloo Courier,* May 6, 1922.

Old lead tablet at Dolliver's Park recalls days of French claims to Iowa, in the *Des Moines Register,* May 7, 1922.

Shall the Skunk River be called the Halcyon, by Hiram Heaton, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* May 9, 1922.

Antoine Le Claire and the early history of Davenport, in the *Davenport Democrat,* May 7, 1922, and the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* May 27, 1922.

Early history of Monroe County, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* May 10, 1922.

Sketch of the life of William C. Rice, pioneer and hunter of Hardin County, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* May 10, 1922.

Life on the Des Moines River, by J. S. Shepherd, in the *Mt. Ayr Journal,* May 11, 1922.

An incident in an early school, in the *Des Moines Capital,* May 12, 1922.

Sketch of the life of George F. Parker, in the *Des Moines Capital* May 13, 15, 1922, the *Marshalltown Times- Republican,* May 15, 1922, and the *Waterloo Courier,* May 16, 1922.

The dedication of Carlisle State park, in the *Des Moines Tribune,* May 15, 1922, the *Des Moines Capital,* May 15, 1922, and the *Indianola Advertiser-Tribune,* May 18, 1922.

Tribute to John A. Nash, in the *Des Moines Tribune,* May 16, 1922.

The Dale Woolen Mills at Guthrie Center, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* May 14, 1922.

Pella is seventy-five years old, by Walter H. Fowler, in the *Pella Booster,* May 17, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Georgia Wade McClellan, in the *Denison Review,* May 17, 1922, and the *Cedar Rapids Times,* June 16, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Kate D. Barr, in the *Keokuk Gate City,* May 17, 1922.

A log cabin of the forties at Wapello, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* May 17, 1922.

The settlement of Delaware County, in the *Manchester Democrat,* May 18, 1922.

Address by George F. Parker at the dedication of Carlisle park, in the *Indianola Advertiser-Tribune,* May 18, 1922.

Joliet and Marquette at Muscatine, in the *Muscatine Journal,* May 18, 1922.

Iowa in the Civil War, by George Monlux, in the *Rock Rapids Review,* May 18, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Hiram Heaton, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* May 20, 22, 1922.

I. N. Kramer and the early history of Linn County, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* May 20, 1922.

Ancient tree recalls Iowa lynching, in the *Des Moines Register,* May 21, 1922.

The ferry across Oneota River, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald,* May 21, 1922.

How Iowa acquired its name, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald,* May 21, 1922.

Captain Jule Calhoun, last of the "Lightning Pilots", by William Nichols, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye,* May 21, 1922.

How Oskaloosa was named, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* May 22, 1922, and the *Oskaloosa Herald,* June 5, 1922.

The Rock Island the first railroad into Iowa, by James J. Hruska, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* May 22, 1922.

Early days in Centerville, by Mrs. Mahlon Hibbs, in the *Centerville Iowegian,* May 22, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. L. L. Treat, in the *Webster City News,* May 22, 1922.

First claim in Mitchell County was made by D. E. Cutter, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* May 23, 1922.

Abraham Lincoln at Council Bluffs, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* May 24, 1922.

Sketch of the career of Herbert Quick, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* May 24, 1922.

Keokuk County named for Indian chief, in the *Sigourney Review,* May 24, 1922.

The story of Black Hawk, in the *Muscatine Herald,* May 25, June 1, 1922.

Early schools in Iowa, by Rosette B. Whitaker, in the *Corydon Democrat,* May 25, 1922.

David A. Daley, first white child born in Taylor County, in the *Clarinda Herald,* May 25, 1922, the *Bedford Times-Republican,* May 30, 1922, and the *Lenox Time Table,* June 7, 1922.

Charles H. Davis, first railroad engineer in Iowa, in the *Muscatine Journal,* May 26, 1922.

Cranmore Gage, Fairfield's oldest resident, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* May 29, 1922.

J. F. Klingaman, charter member of the Robert Anderson post G. A. R. of Waterloo, in the *Waterloo Courier,* May 30, 1922.

Antique exhibit at Washington, in the *Washington Journal,* June 1, 1922.

Mrs. Curliss Ford's reminiscences of Cedar Falls seventy years ago, in the *Cedar Falls Record,* June 2, 1922.

Sketch of the life of L. Y. Lenhart, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* June 3, 1922.

Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Comfort P. Stow of Burt, in the *Bancroft Register,* June 3, 1922.

Sketch of the life of George Irwin, in the *Le Mars Sentinel,* June 5, 1922.

Albert Giles, pioneer scout, in the *Waterloo Tribune,* June 6, 1922, and the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* June 7, 1922.

Indians in Hancock County, in the *Titonka Topic,* June 8, 1922, and the *Kanawha Reporter,* June 14, 1922.

Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. R. S. P. Notson, in the *Hamburg Reporter,* June 8, 1922.

History of Iowa County, in the *Williamsburg Tribune,* June 8, 1922.

Pioneer experiences of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Kilpatrick, in the *Morning Sun Herald,* June 8, 1922.

Sketch of the life of James C. Dunn, in the *Des Moines Register,* June 10, 1922.

The Little Brown Church in the Vale, by Alex R. Miller, in the *Davenport Democrat,* June 11, 1922.

The Amish Community, by Alex R. Miller, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye,* June 11, 1922.

Civil War battle flag owned by Conrad Braum of Milford, in the *Muscatine Journal,* June 12, 1922, and the *Lone Tree Reporter,* June 15, 1922.

Sketch of the life of P. B. Wolfe, in the *Davenport Democrat,* June 12, 1922, and the *Clinton Advertiser,* June 26, 1922.

Early days in Washington, by S. R. Hamilton, in the *Washington Journal,* June 13, 1922.

The old Fort Madison Academy, by F. M. Myers, in the *Fort Madison Democrat,* June 14, 1922.

Reminiscences of Andersonville, in the *Pleasantville News,* June 15, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Robert Sloan, in the *Keosauqua Republican,* June 15, 1922.

Sketch of the life of James S. Whittaker, by E. A. Rea, in the *Corydon Times-Republican,* June 15, 1922.

By-gone days in Winterset, by Charles M. Hyskell, in the *Winterset Madisonian,* June 15, 1922.

Early history of Jasper County, in the *Newton News,* June 15, 1922.

Mammoth tooth found at Moingona, in the *Des Moines Register,* and the *Boone News,* June 16, 1922.

Steamboat days on the Des Moines River, by W. H. H. Barker, in the *Oskaloosa Herald,* June 17, 1922.

The flag of Company A, Twenty-fourth Iowa Infantry, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican,* June 18, 1922.

The Volunteer Firemen's Association of Davenport, in the *Davenport Times,* June 20, 1922.

Sketch of the life of J. B. Harsh, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* June 20, 1922.

Old days on the Des Moines River, in the *Knoxville Express,* June 21, 1922.

Civil War soldiers at Monticello in the *Monticello Express,* June 22, 1922.

Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Trent, in the *Osceola Sentinel,* June 22, 1922.

Reminiscences of Sully's campaign against the Sioux, by D. R. Cowles, in the *Lacona Ledger,* June 23, 1922.

The log cabin of Ben Marks near Manawa, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* June 25, 1922.

Black Hawk and his opponents, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* June 25, 1922.

The word "Iowa", by L. F. Andrews, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* June 25, 1922.

Sac and Fox Indians in Wapello County, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* June 26, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Wilson Daubney, in the *Chariton Leader,* June 27, 1922.

Sketch of the life of John Snyder, in the *Clinton Advertiser,* June 27, 1922.

The Historical Department of Iowa, by Edgar R. Harlan, in the *Iowa Magazine* section of the *Rockwell City Advocate,* June 29, 1922.

The Abbe Creek cemetery, in the *Mt. Vernon Hawkeye,* June 29, 1922.

An early copy of the *Fremont Record* belonging to Mrs. L. A. Springer, in the *Fremont Gazette,* June 29, 1922.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

Story of a Medford Piano, by Moses W. Mann, and *At Medford's Old Civic Center,* by Eliza M. Gill, are two short but interesting papers in the March number of *The Medford Historical Register.*

Col. David L. Payne Monuments and an account of the death of an Oklahoma Indian named Keokuk are two of the papers in *Historia* for April.

Memoirs of Benjamin Van Cleve, edited by Beverly W. Bond, Jr., constitute the issue of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio,* for January-June, 1922.

Travel Across New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century and Later, by William H. Benedict, a continuation of *A Young Man's Journal of 1800-1813,* and *The Preakness Valley Settlement and the Dey Mansion,* by John Neafie, are among the contributions to the April issue of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society.*

The three papers found in the March number of *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* are the following: *Development of Agriculture in Upper Georgia From 1850-1880,* by Roland M. Harper; *The Code Napoleon,* by Beverly D. Evans; and *Howell Cobb Papers,* edited by R. P. Brooks.

Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823, by Samuel Eliot Morison, *The King's Woods,* by Lawrence Shaw Mayo, *Diary of William Greene, 1778,* and *Thomas Jefferson Coolidge,* by John Torrey Morse, Jr., are among the papers in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for 1920-1921.

Missouri in 1822 reprinted from *The Arkansas Gazette, The Followers of Duden,* by William G. Bek, *Records of Missouri Confederate Veterans,* a third installment of *Pioneer Life in South-*

west Missouri, by Wiley Britton, *Origin of "I'm From Missouri",* and a seventh installment of *Shelby's Expedition to Mexico,* by John N. Edwards, are the articles in *The Missouri Historical Review* for April.

In the April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* Charles W. Dahlinger contributes a fifth chapter of his *Fort Pitt,* Edwin W. Smith gives a biographical sketch entitled *Hon. Philander Chase Knox,* Morgan M. Sheedy describes Pittsburgh Point under the heading *Ten Years on Historic Ground,* and Henry King Siebeneck contributes *The Life and Times of Robert King, Revoluntary Patriot.*

The Microscope Method Applied to History, by Joseph Schafer, appears in the *Minnesota History Bulletin* for February-May, 1921. There is also a report of the annual meeting of the Society on January 17, 1921, and, under the heading *Notes and Documents,* the *Correspondence Occasioned by the Dinner in Honor of Dr. Folwell.*

The Journal of Rev. and Mrs. Lemuel Foster, edited by Harry Thomas Stock, is concluded in the March issue of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society.* Two other articles are *A Family Fruitful in Ministers' Wives,* by William P. White, and *The Pioneer Presbyterians of New Providence,* by S. Gordon Smyth.

The Washington Historical Quarterly for April contains the following papers and articles: *The Loss of the "Tonquin",* by F. W. Howay; *The Background of the Purchase of Alaska,* by Victor J. Farrar; *James Bryce, a Tribute,* by Edward McMahon; *A Daughter of Angus MacDonald,* by Christina M. M. Williams; *Yakima Reminiscences,* from the *Yakima Herald;* and a further contribution of the *Origin of Washington Geographic Names,* by Edmond S. Meany.

The Adoption of the Reservation Policy in Pacific Northwest, 1853-1855, by C. F. Coan, *The History of the Oregon Mission Press,* by Howard Malcolm Ballou, *Jonathan Carver's Source for the Name Oregon,* by T. C. Elliott, and *The First Indian School of the Pacific Northwest,* by Robert Moulton Gatke, are the four

articles which appear in the March number of *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society.*

The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas, by Anna Muckleroy, is the title of an article begun in the April issue of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly.* In addition there is a biography of Edward Hopkins Cushing, by E. B. Cushing, and a third installment of *The Bryan-Hayes Correspondence,* edited by E. W. Winkler.

Early Days in Sioux County, Ancient House Sites at Meadow, Nebraska, by A. M. Brooking, *World War Records and Memorials,* and *Trails of Yesterday* are among the papers in *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* for July-September, 1921. In the following number Addison E. Sheldon writes of *Journeys to Historical Sites in Nebraska*—Massacre Canyon, the last battle field of the Sioux-Pawnee War being the place described in this issue. There is also a description of a Cheyenne's war equipment under the title *A Revenant Cheyenne.*

Illinois Women of the Middle Period, by Arthur Charles Cole, *The Building of a State*—The Story of Illinois, by A. Milo Bennett, *Life in the Army,* by Cynthia J. Capron, *The Diary of Salome Paddock Enos,* with an introduction by Louisa I. Enos, *Some Personal Recollections of Peter Cartwright,* by William Epler, and *History of the Selma Methodist Episcopal Church,* by A. V. Pierson, are the articles in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for October, 1920.

George H. Proffit, His Day and Generation, by George R. Wilson, *The History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana,* by Carl Fremont Brand, and *Jesse Kimball—Pioneer,* by Geo. W. and Helen P. Beattie, are the three articles in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History.* The number for June contains the following articles: *Crawford County,* by H. H. Pleasant, *Pioneer Stories of the Calumet,* by J. W. Lester, and *The McGowan Murder at Hindostan,* by William McGowan. Carl Fremont Brand's *History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana* is also continued in this number.

The three articles in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March are the following: *The Relation of Philip Phillips to*

The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, by Henry Barrett Learned; *The Beginnings of Railroads in the Southwest,* by R. S. Cotterill; and *The Policy of Albany and English Westward Expansion,* by Arthur H. Buffinton. Under the heading *Notes and Documents* are *Hints Relative to the Division and Government of the Conquered and Newly Acquired Countries in America,* with an introduction by Verner W. Crane, and *Jefferson's Plan for a Military Colony in Orleans Territory,* by Everett S. Brown.

Januarius A. MacGahan, by Walter J. Blakely, *Journal of Jean Baptiste Trudeaux Among the Arikara Indians in 1795,* translated by Mrs. H. T. Beauregard, *A Journey Through the Lines in 1863,* by Mrs. Lizzie Chambers Hull, *Local Incidents of the Civil War,* by Mrs. Hannah Isabella Stagg, *A Bibliography of Sanitary Work in St. Louis During the Civil War,* by Roland G. Usher, *Some Notes on the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Missouri,* by Gerard Fowke, and a sixth installment of *Recollections of an Old Actor,* by Charles A. Krone, are the interesting articles and papers which make up the recent issue of the *Missouri Historical Society Collections.* Among the *Notes* is a brief biographical sketch of W J McGee.

The Virginia Historical Pageant, by W. B. Cridlin, *The Native Tribes of Virginia,* by David I. Bushnell, Jr., *The First University in America, 1619-1622,* an address by W. Gordon McCabe, *The Real Beginning of American Democracy, The Virginia Assembly of 1619,* by Mary Newton Stanard, *The Settlement of the Valley,* by Charles E. Kemper, *Before the Gates of the Wilderness Road,* by Lyman Chalkley, and *The Virginians on the Ohio and the Mississippi in 1742,* by Fairfax Harrison, are articles which make up the interesting April number of *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.*

The May issue of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* contains a series of sketches of Henry Watterson who died December 22, 1921. Other articles in this number are the following: *The Discovery of Kentucky,* by Willard Rouse Jillson; *Correspondence Between Governor Isaac Shelby and General William Henry Harrison, During the War of 1812; "Heads of Families" in Fayette County, Census of 1810,* edited by A. C. Quisenberry;

History of the County Court of Lincoln County, Va., by Lucien Beckner; *Oil and Gas in the Big Sandy Valley,* by Willard Rouse Jillson; *A Unique Railroad,* by Martha Stephenson; *First Explorations of Daniel Boone in Kentucky,* also by Willard Rouse Jillson; *Reminiscences from the Life of Col. Cave Johnson; Some New Facts about Abraham Lincoln's Parents,* by Thomas B. McGregor; and *Some West Kentucky Sketches.*

Three numbers of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* have been issued during the last three months. The number for October, 1921, contains an article by C. B. Galbreath on the *Anti-Slavery Movement in Columbiana County,* and three papers relating to Edwin and Barclay Coppoc, the Quaker boys from Springdale, Iowa, who participated in the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry. Two of these—*Edwin Coppoc* and *Barclay Coppoc*—were written by C. B. Galbreath, and the third, *The Coffin of Edwin Coppoc,* by Thomas C. Mendenhall. In the issue for January, 1922, there are the following contributions: *A Vision Fulfilled*—the story of the founding of Bucyrus, Ohio—by Maud Bush Alfred; *Colonel James Kilbourne,* by C. B. Galbreath; *What We Owe to the Past,* by Nevin O. Winter; *The Political Campaign of 1875 in Ohio,* by Forrest William Clonts. *General Joshua Woodrow Sill,* by Albert Douglas, *The Pillars of Harrison County,* by Joseph T. Harrison, *Seneca John, Indian Chief,* by Basil Meek, *The Ohio State University in the World War,* by Wilbur H. Siebert, *Character Sketch of General Ulysses S. Grant,* by Hugh L. Nichols, and *Three Anti-Slavery Newspapers,* by Annetta C. Walsh, are the articles and papers in the April number.

The four articles in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March are: *Memories of a Busy Life,* by Charles King; *The Services and Collections of Lyman Copeland Draper,* by Louise Phelps Kellogg; *Wisconsin's Saddest Tragedy*—the murder of C. P. Arndt—by M. M. Quaife; and *Historic Spots in Wisconsin—Grand Butte Des Morts, a Hamlet with a History,* by W. A. Titus. Under the heading *Historical Fragments* are *Visions of a Wisconsin Gold Seeker,* by J. H. A. Lacher, *More Recollections of Abraham Lincoln,* by M. P. Rindlaub, and *Vital Statistics of the First Wisconsin Cavalry in the Civil War,* by Stanley E. Lathrop. Letters of Eldon J. Canright, written from "Somewhere in

France'' and *A Letter from Racine in 1843,* by H. S. Durand, are included under the title, *Documents.*

Two volumes of the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* have recently been distributed. These are for the years 1919 and 1920, and form numbers 26 and 27 of the *Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library.* The volume for 1919 contains, in addition to the reports of the Society, the following addresses and papers: *The Scots and Their Descendants in Illinois,* by Thomas C. MacMillan; *Clark E. Carr, Late Honorary President of the Illinois State Historical Society,* by George A. Lawrence; *The War Work of the Women of Illinois,* by Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen; *On the Agricultural Development of Illinois Since the Civil War,* by Eugene Davenport; *The Life and Services of Joseph Duncan, Governor of Illinois, 1834-1838,* by Elizabeth Duncan Putnam; *William Murray, Trader and Land Speculator in the Illinois Country,* by Anna Edith Marks; and *Captain John Baptiste Saucier at Fort Chartres in the Illinois, 1751-1763,* by John F. Snyder. The volume for 1920 also contains a number of addresses and papers, as follows: *Fifty Years with Bench and Bar of Southern Illinois,* by Oliver A. Harker; *Benjamin D. Walsh, First State Entomologist of Illinois,* by Mrs. Edna Armstrong Tucker; *Greene County; Born 100 Years Ago,* by Charles Bradshaw; *A Quarter of a Century in the Stock Yards District,* by Mary E. McDowell; *Illinois Women in the Middle Period,* by Arthur Charles Cole; *Side Lights on Illinois Suffrage History,* by Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout; and *Scots and Scottish Influence in Congress—An Historici-Anthropological Study,* by Arthur MacDonald.

ACTIVITIES

The Wapello County Historical Society was organized on June 27, 1922, with the following officers: president, W. R. Daum; vice president, Mrs. H. L. Waterman; secretary, Mrs. F. B. Thrall; and treasurer, D. A. Emery.

The annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held at Winterset on April 25, 1922. Edgar R. Harlan gave an illustrated talk, with the assistance of two Musquakie Indians. Election of officers resulted in the following staff: H. A. Mueller,

president; John Anderson, vice president; and Mrs. Jean Scott, secretary-treasurer.

The Plymouth County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held at Le Mars on April 5, 1922. An effort will be made to secure a room in the courthouse or public library in which to store historical material. Mrs. M. C. Woolley was elected president; James C. Gillespie, vice president; R. J. Koehler, secretary; and Mrs. Ella Richardson, treasurer.

The quarterly meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society was held at Fairfield on April 5, 1922. A summary of the history of Jefferson County for the preceding three months was read by Hiram Heaton, the secretary.

Residents interested in local history have organized the Hamilton County Old Settlers' Historical Society. Members who have lived in the county sixty years or more are to be enrolled as honorary members and will pay no fees. Temporary officers were chosen as follows: Alexander Groves, president, and W. F. Cole, secretary and treasurer. It is planned to hold the first meeting at the time of the county fair.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Iowa City, on May 11 and 12, 1922. An excellent program was provided on which were the following papers: "Kentucky Neutrality in 1861", by W. P. Shortridge; "The Pro-Slavery Background of the Kansas Struggle", by James C. Malin; "Rivalry of the French and English in the Ohio Valley between the Last Two Intercolonial Wars", by George A. Wood; "The Real Estate Bank of Arkansas in 1836", by Dallas T. Herndon; "Old Franklin: a Frontier Town of the Twenties", by Jonas Viles; "A Glimpse of New Orleans in 1836", by J. E. Winston; "A study of State History in the High Schools of Missouri", by Eugene M. Violette; "Possibilities of the Social Sciences in the Public Schools", by Anna Krafka; "Eighth Graders vs. American History", by Fred D. Cram; "Nativism in the Forties and Fifties with Special Reference to the Mississippi Valley", by George M. Stephenson; and "Some Unworked Fields in the History of the Mississippi Valley", by O. G. Libby. The presidential address was delivered by William E. Connelley at

the dinner on Thursday night, his subject being "Religious Conceptions of the Modern Hurons".

In addition George F. Parker gave an address on "The American Pioneer and His Story" at the luncheon tendered to the visiting delegates by the State Historical Society of Iowa on Thursday noon. President Walter A. Jessup, James Harvey Robinson, and Hamlin Garland were the speakers at the dinner given by the State University of Iowa on Friday evening. For those who desired, a trip to the Amana Community was provided for Saturday morning, while other visitors went to Des Moines to visit the Historical Department of Iowa.

At the business meeting on Friday, Solon J. Buck, Superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, of St. Paul, Minnesota, was elected President and Mrs. Clarence S. Paine was reëlected Secretary-treasurer. The executive committee for the coming year consists of the President and Secretary together with the following: Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa; Otto L. Schmidt of Chicago, Illinois; and Arthur C. Cole of Ohio State University. J. R. H. Moore of Indianapolis was elected chairman of the executive committee of the teachers' section.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Howard H. Preston is the author of the *History of Banking in Iowa* soon to be distributed by The State Historical Society of Iowa. This volume presents banking in Iowa as a cross-section of general banking history in the United States.

Dr. John Carl Parish, for the past three years associate editor on the staff of the State Historical Society of Iowa and editor of *The Palimpsest,* has accepted a position in the department of history of the southern branch of the University of California, at Los Angeles, and will take up his work there soon after the first of August, 1922.

The following persons have been appointed by Governor N. E. Kendall to serve on the Board of Curators of The State Historical Society of Iowa: Mrs. Lillian Clark Cary, Dubuque; Mrs. Mary E. Coon, Estherville; Mr. John M. Grimm, Cedar Rapids; Mrs. Mary H. S. Johnston, Humboldt; Mr. Wm. G. Kerr, Grundy

Center; Mr. Charles E. Pickett, Waterloo; Mr. A. C. Smith, Clinton; Mrs. Helen S. Taylor, Bloomfield; Mr. H. O. Weaver, Wapello.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has recently received from Henry Clinton Parkhurst a collection of Civil War relics and a number of scrap books containing historical material. Mr. Parkhurst was a member of Company C, Sixteenth Iowa Volunteer Infantry, during the Civil War, and was later a newspaper writer and the author of several volumes of prose and poetry. A map showing the topography and buildings of the Andersonville prison is included in the collection.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mrs. Harry Abbott, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. Will D. Allender, Chariton, Iowa; Mr. Lee H. Andre, Manly, Iowa; Mr. Claude L. Benner, Ames, Iowa; Miss Alice J. Boyer, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Flora B. Brown, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. J. A. Brown, Keosauqua, Iowa; Mr. A. L. Calderhead, Sloan, Iowa; Mr. W. L. Cherry, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Garold Colston, Selma, Iowa; Mrs. Clarence P. Cook, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. J. W. Cook, Shelby, Iowa; Mr. Samuel A. Corey, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. C. H. Dall, Battle Creek, Iowa; Mr. Earl Edmunds, Correctionville, Iowa; Mr. Gideon D. Ellyson, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. E. A. Fields, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. M. D. Gibbs, Alton, Iowa; Mrs. A. A. Gillette, Atlantic, Iowa; Dr. F. J. Graber, Stockport, Iowa; Mr. Edd R. Guthrie, Hartford, Iowa; Mr. John B. Hammond, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. F. M. Hanson, Garner, Iowa; Mr. E. C. Harlan, Indianola, Iowa; Mr. E. W. Harrison, Winfield, Iowa; Mr. Geo. B. Hippee, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. E. W. F. Holler, Brooklyn, Iowa; Mr. C. L. Holmes, Ames, Iowa; Mr. Howard T. Jones, West Branch, Iowa; Mr. E. J. Kelly, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Samuel M. Kittredge, Ottumwa, Iowa; Miss Bernice Le Claire, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Howard L. Letts, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. T. P. McGowan, Thayer, Iowa; Mr. W. R. Mitchell, Indianola, Iowa; Mrs. John H. Morrell, Ottumwa, Iowa; Rev. Charles O'Connor, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Clara M. Petersen, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Philip P. Phillips, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. E. E. Poston, Corydon, Iowa; Mr. T. H. Potter, Harlan, Iowa; Mr. L. T. Quasdorf, Dows, Iowa; Mr. Almon S. Reed,

Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Raymond A. Smith, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Miss Carrie P. Sondrol, Clear Lake, Iowa; Mr. J. H. Strief, Des Moines, Iowa; Dr. Kuno H. Struck, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. C. K. Stuart, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. A. I. Tiss, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. John Q. Vandermast, Monroe, Iowa; Miss Elizabeth Wadsworth, Indianola, Iowa; Mr. C. S. Walker, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Dana Waterman, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. J. Wesselink, Pella, Iowa; Mrs. W. S. Weston, Webster City, Iowa; Mr. E. J. Wilkins, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. W. H. Wishard, Wellman, Iowa; Mr. Frederic S. Withington, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Geo. E. Wood, Red Oak, Iowa; Mr. Fred A. Bell, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mr. W. G. Blood, Keokuk, Iowa; Rev. John P. Burkhiser, Harlan, Iowa; Miss Clara Drees, Carroll, Iowa; Mr. Charles L. Gilcrest, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Wm. H. Hathorn, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. C. K. Hayes, West Branch, Iowa; Mr. Chas. A. Hoyt, Sioux City, Iowa; Miss Anna B. Lawther, Dubuque, Iowa; Mrs. Harry Lyman, Clarinda, Iowa; Mr. Edwin B. Lindsay, Davenport, Iowa; Mrs. Chas. H. Morris, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. G. S. Nollen, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Arthur Olsen, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. W. W. Reams, Mitchell, South Dakota; Mr. R. G. Remley, Webster City, Iowa; Mr. H. H. Remore, Mason City, Iowa; Mrs. J. Fayette Schermerhorn, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Joe W. Smith, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. James E. Stronks, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Ella M. Thompson, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. H. S. Van Alstine, Gilmore City, Iowa; Mr. Floyd E. Billings, Red Oak, Iowa; Mr. A. A. Carlson, Belle Plaine, Iowa; Mr. A. D. Corcoran, Anamosa, Iowa; Mr. H. B. Jennings, Jr., Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. Louis C. Kurtz, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. A. W. MacKinnon, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Morris Mandelbaum, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Lillian Maulsby, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Floyd Philbrick, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Frank W. Senneff, Britt, Iowa; Mrs. Maud S. Whelihan, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; and Mr. Ralph F. Worstell, Red Oak, Iowa. Mr. Clifford Powell has been enrolled as a life member.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The thirty-sixth annual picnic for old settlers was held at Shellsburg, Benton County, on June 15, 1922. Verne Marshall of Cedar Rapids was the principal speaker.

Hiram Heaton, well known in historical society circles, died at Washington, Iowa, on May 19, 1922, at the age of seventy-seven years. For many years he had been secretary of the Jefferson County Historical Society and he was a member of The State Historical Society of Iowa, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and a number of similar organizations, in which he was deeply interested. His homestead, known as "Woodthrush Park", becomes the property of the town of Fairfield.

Charles Reuben Keyes of Cornell College has been secured by the State Historical Society to make a preliminary archaeological survey of Iowa and the adjacent territory and is now at work collecting data.

CONTRIBUTORS

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George Frederick Parker. Born December 30, 1847, at Lafayette, Indiana. Educated in the public schools of Iowa and attended the State University of Iowa in 1868-1870. Editor of newspapers in Iowa, Indiana, Washington, D. C., New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and New York City. Author of *Recollections of Grover Cleveland* and various articles in magazines and newspapers.

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HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF COUNTIES IN IOWA

[The following account of the organization of counties in Iowa, compiled by J. A. Swisher, supplements the two monographs written by F. H. Garver on the *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* and the *Boundary History of the Counties of Iowa* which were published in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Volumes VI and VII.

The collection of data for this monograph was attended by many difficulties. In the first place authorities are not agreed as to what constitutes organization. Is it the date when the order was promulgated, the date of the first election, or the date of the first transaction of official business? In this study the last named event has been considered the date of organization.

Furthermore, it was found that much of the necessary information was difficult to secure. To visit the various county seats and conduct searches among the local archives — often unclassified and stored in basements — would have required the greater part of a year and the expenditure of many hundreds of dollars. In many cases even such diligence would have been unavailing since the county records have not infrequently been destroyed by fire. Accordingly reliance has been placed on other sources, consisting chiefly of official State publications — such as the statute laws and the *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census, 1836–1880* — county and State histories, the early *Annals of Iowa,* and Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa,* published in 1875.

Considerable information was secured from local county histories — particularly those published at an early day when the original sources were for the most part available. When all of these sources had been consulted and the data compared and tabulated, a letter was sent to each of the ninety-nine county auditors of the State, asking that the data secured for his county be verified by comparison with the official county records. About half of the whole number of auditors complied with the request, and with only two or three exceptions the data originally secured was found to be substantially correct — thus indicating that the sources used were fairly reliable. At the same time it is recognized that in the compilation of material for so many counties and from so many sources, it is possible that minor errors may have found their way into the final product. — THE EDITOR]

The student of colonial history will recall that local government in Massachusetts was democratic: business was transacted in the town meetings, where all of the citizens could assemble, discuss, and vote upon matters of mutual

concern. As contrasted with this town method, county government was representative: it originated in Virginia, where, because of the large tracts of land controlled by a sparsely settled people, local government was placed in the hands of a few leading citizens. In 1634 eight counties were organized in Virginia. This system spread throughout most of the southern States and some of the northern States — Illinois adopting the county system at the time of its admission into the union in 1818.[1]

Thus, it is not strange that the early settlers of Iowa were familiar with this form of local government, and that, coming as they did from various sections of the country already organized, these settlers brought with them many of the manners, customs, and laws with which they were familiar, and began at once to formulate these into statutes which were applicable to their own local needs in the new community.

Frank Harmon Garver, in an article published in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for July, 1908, presents a comprehensive study of the establishment of counties in Iowa, in which he sets forth the several legislative enactments by which the various counties of the State were brought into being. These legislative enactments in many cases set forth rules by which the counties were to be organized. In a new and sparsely settled country, however, the actual development frequently varies widely from the plans originally designed by the lawmakers. Accordingly, it will be of interest to study the actual organization of the counties of the State, and to ascertain how the laws providing for county organization were made effective, how these laws were amended from

[1] Howard's *An Introduction to the Local Constitutional History of the United States,* Vol. I, pp. 388, 389; *History of Page County, Iowa* (1880), pp. 385-387.

time to time, and finally how, through a process of evolution, the present status of county organization has come to be what it is. This history goes back to the time when Iowa was a part of Michigan and Wisconsin territories.

ORGANIZATION DURING THE PERIOD OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY 1834–1836

In 1834 the area contained in the present State of Iowa was made a part of the Territory of Michigan. On the first day of September of that year the Sixth Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan met in extra session at the town of Detroit and on the second day of the session the Governor of the Territory sent a message to the Council, suggesting, among other things, the establishment of local government in that part of the Territory west of the Mississippi River — referring to the territory included in the Black Hawk Purchase.[2] In accordance with this recommendation the Legislative Council passed a measure entitled "An Act to lay off and organize Counties west of the Mississippi River", which was approved on September 6, 1834, to take effect on the first day of October of the same year.[3]

The first section of this law provided that that part of the Territory "which is situated to the north of a line to be drawn due west from the lower end of Rock Island to the Missouri river, shall constitute a county, and be called Dubuque; the said county shall constitute a township, which shall be called Julien".

Section two provided that the part "which is situated south of the said line to be drawn west from the lower end of Rock Island, shall constitute a county, and be called

[2] Garver's *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, p. 380.

[3] *Laws of the Territory of Michigan,* Vol. III, pp. 1326, 1327.

Demoine;[4] and said county shall constitute a township, and be called Flint Hill".

These two sections make it clear that each county comprised but a single township, and that the county and township lines were co-extensive. It is also evident that it was the intention of the legislators to place the government of both the county and the township in the hands of a single board.[5]

Section three of the act provided for the establishment of a county court in each county. Court was to be in session in Dubuque County on the first Monday in April and September, annually; and in Demoine County on the second Monday in April and September. These county courts were similar to those of an earlier date. They were composed of three judges — one presiding and two associate justices — appointed by the Governor of the Territory.[6]

A subsequent section of this law provided that all laws then in force in the county of Iowa, not locally inapplicable, should be extended to the counties of Dubuque and Demoine. The "county of Iowa" mentioned in this section refers to a certain county of the Territory, located east of the Mississippi River, which had been established in 1829.[7] Accordingly, it appears that the laws governing the two original counties of Iowa were adopted from those laws of an earlier date, which were already in operation in the organized parts of Michigan Territory.

One of the Michigan statutes of which we should take cognizance was approved on March 30, 1827, and provided that the inhabitants of townships should meet on the first

4 This is the spelling found in the act.

5 Aurner's *History of Township Government in Iowa*, pp. 18, 19.

6 *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VII, p. 232.

7 *Laws of the Territory of Michigan*, Vol. II, p. 714.

Monday in April of each year for the purpose of electing a supervisor.[8] On April 12, 1827, a law was passed which provided that the duties previously required of the county commissioners should henceforth be performed by the supervisors.[9] Thus it appears that the laws in vogue in the Territory at this time placed local government largely in the hands of a board of supervisors, who had the function of both township and county officers. The number of members of this board varied in the different counties, there being one from each township. In case there was but one township in the county, three supervisors were elected. The other county officers most frequently elected by the people at this time were the treasurer, surveyor, and coroner. The list, however, was not always the same in the different counties, since the newer communities did not need all of the machinery of government which was used in the older settlements. Judicial officers, including judges of the county and probate courts, clerks of court, justices of the peace, sheriffs, and notaries public, were appointed by the Governor.

That there might be no delay in the matter of organization, the Governor, on the same day upon which he approved of the law creating the new counties, appointed the following judicial officers for Dubuque County: one chief justice, two associate justices, a county clerk, a sheriff, a judge of probate, a register of probate, a notary public, a supreme court commission, and six justices of the peace.[10] A similar list of officers was provided for Demoine County[11]

[8] *Laws of the Territory of Michigan,* Vol. II, p. 317.

[9] *Laws of the Territory of Michigan,* Vol. II, p. 584.

[10] Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa,* Vol. III, pp. 266, 267.

[11] Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa,* Vol. III, p. 267.

on December 26, 1834. Thomas McKnight was chief justice in Dubuque County and William Morgan in Demoine County.

There are no records of any meeting of the county board of supervisors in Dubuque County during the years 1834 or 1835. That the officers appointed by the Governor entered upon the duties of their respective offices prior to December 9, 1834, is conclusively shown, however, from the fact that on that date the Legislative Council passed an act providing, "That the oath of office administered to the clerk of the county of Dubuque, and the oath of office administered by him to the several officers of said county, for the purpose of organizing said county, are hereby declared to be legal and valid".[12] It seems that the officers had been inducted into office and were performing the functions thereof when, because of some informality or irregularity in administering the oath, a question was raised as to the legality of the ceremony, thus necessitating a legalizing act.

Demoine County. — In as much as local government was largely in the hands of the board of supervisors, the first meeting of this board is significant. Indeed, this may be taken as constituting the beginning of actual organization in the county. The law provided for the meeting of these boards in the several counties on the first Monday of March, and on the first Tuesday of October of each year.[13] The earliest existing records relative to the actual organization of a board of supervisors are to be found in Demoine County. The date of the election of these officers does not appear, and whether or not they were elected at the regular election in March, 1835, can not be definitely

12 *Laws of the Territory of Michigan,* Vol. III, p. 1333.

13 *Laws of the Territory of Michigan,* Vol. II, p. 688.

determined.[14] The board of that county met at the house of William R. Ross in the town of Burlington on September 29, 1835.[15] This must have been a special meeting, since the regular time for the meeting was in March and October. There were present, as constituting the board, Isaac Leffler, Francis Redding, and Ebenezer D. Ayers. Benjamin Tucker was appointed clerk of the board.

Dubuque County. — The first meeting of the board of supervisors in Dubuque County was held on May 30, 1836, and there were present Francis Gehon, William Smith, and John Paul. Warner Lewis was appointed clerk. The records of that time show that grocers and innkeepers were taxed $10 per annum, payable quarterly. Thirty-eight such persons are mentioned as thus paying revenue into the county treasury. The same records show pauper and insane expenses amounting to $35.38. The first jail is said to have cost $577.25. On June 11, 1836, plans and specifications for a courthouse were received. At a meeting of the board on April 1, 1837, a bill of $4.00 was allowed to Francis Gehon in full for services as county treasurer.[16]

From this brief statement of organization it will appear that the first county officers in Iowa were those of a judicial nature appointed for the county of Dubuque. The first organized board of supervisors — the chief governing body in the county — met in Demoine County. It is clear, moreover, that as early as May, 1836, both of the original counties had taken the initial steps in the matter of organization.

[14] Letter of County Auditor J. F. Weber, September 7, 1922.

[15] Aurner's *History of Township Government in Iowa*, p. 19.

[16] Aurner's *History of Township Government in Iowa*, p. 19; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 341.

ORGANIZATION UNDER THE TERRITORY OF WISCONSIN 1836–1838

Upon the admission of part of the Territory of Michigan to the Union as a State, the remainder was by an act of Congress, approved on April 20, 1836, erected into the Territory of Wisconsin.[17] The area of the present State of Iowa, with its two original counties, was included in this new jurisdiction.

The Organic Act of the Territory of Wisconsin provided laws differing somewhat from those of the former Michigan Territory. Instead of a mere outline of government, a more detailed plan was now provided. In spite of this fact, the new law did not provide any definite plan for the organization of counties. In article six, however, it was provided that "the legislative power of the Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation". Under this authorization the counties of Iowa, from this time on, were created by legislative acts, and organized in compliance with the rules prescribed by the Wisconsin territorial legislature.

The legislature of the Territory of Wisconsin met for the first time at Belmont on October 25, 1836.[18] During this session a law was adopted entitled, "An Act dividing the county of Des Moines into several new counties." This act was approved on December 7, 1836, and went into effect immediately.[19] By the terms of this law, the territory comprised in the former county of Demoine, together with a small triangular part of the Keokuk Reserve, located west of this county, was divided into seven new counties, one of which retained the name of Des Moines and may be con-

17 *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. V, p. 10.

18 Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 174.

19 *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin,* 1836–1838, p. 76. The spelling of the word Des Moines is modernized in this act.

sidered legally as a continuation of the former county. The other six counties thus created were: Lee, Van Buren, Henry, Louisa, Musquitine, and Cook.

On December 6th, the day previous to the approval of the above mentioned act, the legislature passed a law amending several acts of the former Michigan Territory and providing for certain county officers.[20] Section one of this act provided, among other things, "that there shall be elected at the annual town meeting in each county three supervisors".

Section two provided that there "shall also be elected in each county, one township clerk, who shall in addition to the duties heretofore performed by him, perform the duties of clerk to the board of supervisors."

Prior to this date — on November 29, 1836 — a law had been passed which provided for the election of a coroner.[21] And just following this date — on December 20, 1837 — a law was approved which authorized the election of a treasurer in each of the organized counties.[22]

Thus it appears that by the beginning of the year 1838, provision had been made for county officers sufficient in number to carry on the work of organization in a satisfactory manner.

In this connection attention should be called to the fact that there is some confusion in the early records with regard to the use of the terms "Board of Supervisors" and "County Commissioners", and that these terms are sometimes used synonymously. Moreover, the meeting of a board of supervisors is sometimes spoken of as a "supervisors' court" or a "commissioners' court". At this time

[20] *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin,* 1836–1838, p. 64.

[21] *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin,* 1836–1838, p. 22.

[22] *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin,* 1836–1838, p. 129.

these terms could mean but one thing, namely, a board of supervisors. The meeting is in no sense a court. Moreover, county commissioners, as such, were not provided for until December, 1837.

COUNTIES ORGANIZED WITH A BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

Henry County. — Following the action of the legislature, on December 6, 1836, providing for a board of supervisors, there was little delay in the matter of actual organization. In Henry County a board was elected, and held its first meeting at Mt. Pleasant on January 16, 1837, under the name of "Special Term Supervisors' Court". The minutes of this meeting show that Robert Caulk, Samuel Brazelton, and George J. Sharp had been duly elected county supervisors on January 13, 1837, and that they had taken the required oath of office. Seven orders were issued by the board at this time. The first five of these pertained to matters involved in the previous election. A county treasurer, a coroner, and five constables were declared duly elected, and bonds were provided. The judge and clerk of the election were paid for their services. These necessary matters in connection with organization having been disposed of, the board ordered that the clerk give notice that their next meeting would be held on the second Monday in February, and that "all persons having business are requested to attend".[23]

Lee County. — The first election for county officers in Lee County was held at Fort Madison on Monday, April 3, 1837, where a full staff of county officers was elected — some of them presumably under the authorization of the law as it was under the Michigan Territory. The list of

[23] *History of Henry County, Iowa* (1879), p. 391.

officers elected at that time included three supervisors, three assessors, three road commissioners, register, township clerk, two directors of the poor, coroner, treasurer, collector, and five constables.[24]

The first meeting of the board of supervisors was held at the house of J. S. Douglass in Fort Madison on Monday, the 17th day of April, 1837. The minutes of the meeting show that only two orders were passed, both of which, however, are significant as showing the prevailing custom of retailing spirituous liquors and wines, not at a separate dispensary, but in connection with some other business such as that of an innkeeper or grocer. The first order reads: "That said J. S. Douglass be permitted to keep a public house in the town of Fort Madison for the term of one year from the 17th of this month, and that he has also permission to retail spirituous liquors and wines by small measure during said time." The second order was "that each and every person who shall apply to said Board of Supervisors for license to keep a grocery, with the permission to retail spirituous liquors and wines by small measure, shall pay twenty-five dollars per annum into the county treasury, and get a receipt for the same, and present to said Board of Supervisors."[25] These two orders having been passed the board adjourned until the first Monday in May.

Louisa County. — The record of the first election in Louisa County has not been preserved. That such an election was held, however, in the spring of 1837 is evident from the fact that the board of supervisors met in Wapello on April 22nd of that year.[26] The members of the board

[24] *History of Lee County, Iowa* (1879), p. 431.

[25] *History of Lee County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 431, 432.

[26] *History of Louisa County, Iowa* (1912), Vol. I, pp. 80-82.

present at that time were Jeremiah Smith and William Milligan. It appears that the third member of the board did not attend the meeting, as his name does not appear in the minutes, a facsimile of which has been preserved. Indeed, it seems clear that he, together with other officers elected at the spring election, did not qualify, for the board of supervisors, after appointing Z. C. Inghram clerk of the board, ordered another election to be held on May 6th for the purpose of electing one supervisor, constables, assessor, collector, director of the poor, fence viewer, and all other officers required to fill vacancies caused by those previously elected failing to qualify in due time. The clerk was authorized to advertise a special meeting of the board to be held on the 12th of May. The meeting was then adjourned by the passing of an order "that the bord rise until the 12th day of May next".[27]

Van Buren County.—In Van Buren County the first records obtainable are those with regard to a meeting of the "Supervisors' Court" on Thursday, May 4, 1837, at the town of Farmington. There were apparently but two members of the board present—John Bending and Isham Keith. Enoch P. Blackburn was appointed clerk.[28] The date of the spring election is not known. Reference is made to it, however, in the minutes of this meeting, when the clerk of the district court presented the poll books for "the late election". It was ordered, in this connection, that certificates of election be issued to the recorder, for township clerk, collector, coroner, three assessors, three road commissioners, two overseers of poor, three fence viewers, and a pound master. The board ordered that a

27 *History of Louisa County, Iowa* (1912), Vol. I, pp. 80, 81.

28 This data was obtained from the original records in Van Buren County by Dr. Ivan L. Pollock, July, 1922.

tax of $25 per year be imposed upon persons conducting a grocery business.

Muscatine County. — The exact date of the first election in Muscatine County is not obtainable, owing to the fact that the records were burned when the old courthouse of that county was destroyed in 1864. It is known, however, that an election was held in the spring of 1837. Arthur Washburn and Edward Fay were chosen as supervisors. It is probable that a third man was elected but his name does not appear. This board met on October 4, 1837.[29] The only business transacted at this session was the issuance of orders on the treasurer for various sums. Seven orders in all were issued, four of which were for work on the roads.

The county of Cook, which it will be remembered was established when the original county of Demoine was divided, was never officially organized. This county became extinct when its territory was apportioned among several new counties on January 18, 1838.[30]

COUNTIES ORGANIZED UNDER THE COUNTY COMMISSION SYSTEM

Before the organization of more counties the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wisconsin convened at Burlington, and on December 20, 1837,[31] passed a law which is significant in the history of organization. This was an act authorizing the election of a board of county commissioners in each county of the Territory. The duties of these commissioners were virtually those which had hitherto been performed by the board of supervisors. This

[29] *History of Muscatine County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 417, 418.

[30] *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin,* 1836–1838, p. 381.

[31] *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin,* 1836–1838, pp. 138-140.

law was more explicit than those of the earlier date, and the vagueness which had hitherto been so apparent gave way in a measure to a more definite plan of organization.

The law provided, "That there shall be and hereby is organized in each county in this territory, a board of county commissioners for transacting county business, to consist of three qualified electors, any two of whom shall be competent to do business, to be elected by the qualified electors of the several counties respectively." The date of the first election was the first Monday in March. It was further stipulated that at this first election the person having the highest number of votes should serve three years, the person having the next highest number should serve two years, and the person having the next highest should serve one year, and thereafter one commissioner should be elected annually to serve for three years. Provision was also made for regular meetings of the board on the first Monday in April, July, October, and January of each year. The commissioners were given power to appoint a clerk who, together with the sheriff, was authorized to attend all meetings of the board.

On December 21, 1837,[32] the day following the approval of the law relative to commissioners, an act subdividing the county of Dubuque was approved. This law included not only Dubuque County, but also approximately the northern two-thirds of the Sac and Fox Cession of October 21, 1837, as well as large tracts of the Indian country not yet ceded to the United States government. The act provided for the establishment of fourteen new counties as follows: Dubuque, Clayton, Jackson, Benton, Linn, Jones, Clinton, Johnson, Scott, Delaware, Buchanan, Cedar, Fayette, and Keokuk.

32 *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin*, 1836–1838, p. 132.

Section three of this act established the boundary lines of Dubuque County, giving it its present boundaries. The organization of the government of the county, however, was not changed, hence this may be considered as having begun with the original county and continued until the present time. Of the other thirteen counties some were not actually organized until as late as 1847. In the meantime other counties were established and in some instances several established counties were without active organization. Counties will, therefore, be considered in the order in which they were organized, mention only being made of the date of their establishment.

Scott County. — It will be recalled that the law which established the board of county commissioners provided for its election on the first Monday in March. In Scott County the first election was held, in accordance with this law, on Monday, March 5, 1838.

The commissioners elected on that day were Benjamin F. Pike, Alfred Carter, and Andrew W. Campbell. The first meeting of the board was held at the store of J. W. Higgins, in the town of Rockingham, on March 20, 1838. Only two of the commissioners were present. Ebenezer Cook was appointed clerk of the board and arrangements were made to procure from the Secretary of the Territory a suitable seal. As there was no business to be transacted the board adjourned to meet again in April.[33]

Cedar County. — In Cedar County an election was held on March 5, 1838, when the following commissioners were elected: Richard Ransford, J. M. Oaks, and Joseph Wilford. The commissioners met at Rochester — the place fixed by

[33] *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa* (1910), Vol. I, p. 547; letter of County Auditor Jos. Wagner, September 16, 1922.

the territorial legislature — on April 2, 1838. At this session two petitions were received asking for roads to be opened. The county was divided into districts, and election precincts were established.[34] Other minor matters were disposed of by the board. After allowing a compensation per diem for each commissioner and for the clerk and sheriff, the session adjourned to meet on the 24th of May.

Jackson County. — Whether or not the first election in Jackson County was held on the first Monday in March, as was provided in the law establishing the board of county commissioners, does not appear. It is clear, however, that an election was held during the spring of 1838. The first county commissioners were William Jonas, William Morden, and J. Leonard. J. H. Rose was appointed clerk of the board. The first meeting of the board was held at Bellevue on April 2, 1838 — the date of the meeting of the first board in Cedar County. At this meeting the county was divided into six voting precincts and election judges were appointed for each.[35]

When Jackson County was established Jones and Linn counties were attached as election precincts and Bellevue was made the seat of government. The county seat was later moved to Andrew and finally to Maquoketa.

ORGANIZATION OF COUNTIES DURING THE TERRITORY OF IOWA 1838–1846

It soon became apparent that the Territory of Wisconsin was too large for the successful administration of local government. Accordingly the Territory was divided by

[34] Aurner's *A Topical History of Cedar County, Iowa* (1910), Vol. I, pp. 53, 54; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 399; Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. III, p. 324.

[35] *History of Jackson County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 327, 328.

an act of Congress approved on June 12, 1838.[36] This law provided that the part of the Territory lying west of the Mississippi River and west of a line due north from the source of said river should form a new Territory to be known as the Territory of Iowa.

Clayton County. — Clayton County was the first to organize under the new jurisdiction. The first election in this county was held in September, 1838. Although this purported to be an election for members of the legislature and a Delegate to Congress,[37] it is probable that county officers were also elected. At all events the first meeting of the board of county commissioners was held on October 6, 1838, at the town of Prairie La Porte, the first county seat.[38] No business was transacted except that of organization and the appointment of Dean Gay as clerk of the board. An adjournment was then had until October 13th.

It should be mentioned in this connection that on December 14, 1838, the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa passed a law providing for county commissioners in the new Territory.[39] This law was patterned after the one previously passed by the Legislative Council of Wisconsin. It provided for a board of three commissioners, elected by the people. Two members of the board were to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Johnson County. — As soon as Robert Lucas, the newly appointed Governor of Iowa, reached Burlington, he began to organize the Territory by issuing a proclamation for an

[36] *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. V, p. 235.

[37] *History of Clayton County, Iowa* (1882), p. 413.

[38] *History of Clayton County, Iowa* (1882), p. 264.

[39] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1838–1839, p. 101.

election. He issued a sheriff's commission to Samuel C. Trowbridge, with instruction to call an election for the purpose of organizing Johnson County.[40] The first election of county officers in this county was held at Napoleon on September 10, 1838. Territorial as well as county officers were elected at that time. The county commissioners chosen were Henry Felkner, Abner Wolcott, and William Sturgis.[41] The first board meeting was held on March 29, 1839. Two motions were passed — one with regard to the appointment of Luke Douglass as clerk and the other concerning the adoption of a county seal. It was then ordered that the "court" adjourn sine die.

Jefferson County. — Jefferson County was the next in order to take up the matter of organization. This county was not included in the above mentioned group of fourteen which were established upon the division of Dubuque County but was established through a division of Henry County, which it will be remembered was one of the seven counties carved from the original county of Demoine. The law which established this county was approved on January 21, 1839.[42] It was clearly the intent of the legislators to cause as little confusion as possible in placing this county under a new organization. The act provided that Jefferson County "shall, to all intents and purposes, be and remain an organized county, and invested with full power and authority to do and transact all county business which any regularly organized county may of right do."[43] This is the first example recorded where a law definitely

40 *Early Iowa* (The Iowa City Republican Leaflets), Ch. II, p. 13.

41 *Early Iowa* (The Iowa City Republican Leaflets), Ch. I, pp. 57, 61.

42 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1838–1839, p. 92.

43 This is the first example of a definite declaration of the law providing for organization.

declared that a county "shall be organized". Prior to this date laws were passed authorizing elections, and officers having been elected they proceeded to organize. The law here is definite and indicates an advance step in the history of organization. It was recognized, however, that a mere declaration of the organization was of little effect. Accordingly provision was made for an election of county officers to be held on the first Monday of April, 1839, and the sheriff was authorized to give public notice of the impending election. This is believed to be the first legislative appointment of an organizing sheriff in Iowa. Further provision was made that the newly established county should remain attached to Henry County for judicial purposes until its officers were elected and the county properly organized.

In accordance with the provisions of this law an election was held which resulted in the selection of three county commissioners, a treasurer, sheriff, recorder, and surveyor. The first meeting of the board of county commissioners was held at the village of Lockridge on April 8, 1839,[44] at which only two of the members were present. After appointing a clerk and having him duly sworn into office, the first order was one with regard to the surveying and laying out the town of Fairfield, which had been selected as the county seat. Arrangements were further made for the sale of lots in Fairfield and that the sale be advertised in Fort Madison, Mount Pleasant, Keosauqua, and Burlington. Fees were allowed the officers and the board adjourned.

Washington County. — The history of the organization of Washington County presents a somewhat intricate as

[44] *History of Jefferson County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 395, 397.

well as interesting situation, involving the names successively of Cook, Slaughter, and Washington. Reference was made to the fact that Cook County was established as one of the group of seven counties carved from the original county of Demoine and that it later became extinct. The law which established Slaughter County also established new boundaries for the counties of Lee, Van Buren, Des Moines, Henry, Louisa, and Muscatine, but made no reference to Cook County.[45] Accordingly it has sometimes been thought that the name Cook was changed to Slaughter. This was not the case. By the rearrangement of boundary lines made by the acts of December 21, 1837, and January 18, 1838, Cook County was completely crowded out. Slaughter was a newly established county, not to be considered as a successor of Cook County.

Whether or not Slaughter County was ever fully organized does not clearly appear. The absence of any reference to the election of county officers leads one to believe that such an election was not held. However that may be, it is clear that a commission was appointed to locate the seat of justice and also that a term of the district court was held in the county. In 1838 the town of Astoria was laid out and designated as the county seat and a courthouse was started but never completed.[46]

On January 25, 1839,[47] an act was passed which changed the name of Slaughter County to Washington County. This law provided that "the county of Washington shall, to all intents and purposes, be and remain an organized county". Hence it would appear that it was the intent of the legis-

45 *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin*, 1836–1838, p. 381.

46 Garver's *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, pp. 390, 391; *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VII, pp. 76, 78.

47 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, p. 100.

lators to merely change the name and continue the county organization, in so far as this organization had been effected. In the spring of 1839, soon after the name of the county was changed, a complete staff of county officers appears, including three commissioners, a clerk, judge of probate, treasurer and collector, recorder, coroner, and sheriff. The board of commissioners held its first meeting on Monday, May 5, 1839. Provision was made for securing a seal. Election precincts were designated. This meeting was, however, only a special session, and very little was done aside from attending to matters of organization. The first regular session of the board was held on July 1, 1839, in the town of Washington, which had, prior to this time, been selected as the county seat. The first court was held on June 17, 1839, by Judge Joseph Williams, but no indictments having been returned[48] there were no cases for trial.

Linn County. — On January 15, 1839, a law was approved which provided "That the county of *Linn* be and the same is herebye organized from and after the first day of June next".[49] Richard Knott, Lyman Dillon, and Benjamin Nye were by the same act appointed commissioners to locate the seat of justice, to meet for that purpose on the first Monday of March. Here again as in cases previously mentioned there may be a wide range of difference between a county which has been declared by the legislature to be organized and one that is actually organized. The legislature had declared this county to be organized after the first of June. It was in the month of August, however, two months later, that the first election of county

[48] *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VII, pp. 78-80.

[49] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1838–1839, p. 97.

officers was held.[50] The commissioners elected at this time were Samuel C. Stewart, Peter McRoberts, and Luman M. Strong. The first meeting was held on September 9, 1839. Hosea W. Gray was sheriff and John C. Berry was appointed clerk of the board. The site of the county seat had been selected prior to this time and accordingly the board at this meeting ordered, "That the county seat of Linn County be and is hereby called and shall hereafter be known and designated by the name of Marion." On the second day of the session the board appointed two "Constables for the county", also a supervisor of roads. Sheriff Gray was authorized to contract with the sheriff of Muscatine County for the safe-keeping of one Samuel Clews, who was the first man in the county to require the services of a sheriff in the capacity of guardian. There being no funds provided for this service, the sheriff was further authorized to borrow the necessary money for the maintenance of the prisoner.

Jones County. — On January 24, 1839, the Legislative Assembly passed a law relative to the organization of Jones County.[51] It was evidently the intention of the legislators to provide for a definite organization, for the law provided that the county "be, and the same is, hereby organized, from and after the first day of June next". Simeon Gardner of Clinton County, Israel Mitchell of Linn County, and William H. Whiteside of Dubuque County were appointed commissioners to locate the county seat.

Notwithstanding the fact that the law provided for an organization of the county from and after June 1, 1839, the first election was not held until the fall of that year,

50 *History of Linn County, Iowa* (1878), p. 358.

51 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, p. 95.

and the board of commissioners did not meet until February 3, 1840.[52]

Clinton County. — At a special session of the legislature there was enacted on January 11, 1840, a law relative to the organization of Clinton County. This law provided that the county should "be organized from and after the first day of March", that an election of county officers should be held on the first Monday in April, that the county should become a part of the third judicial district, that court be held on the first Monday of May and October, and that the county seat should be established at the town of Camanche.[53]

In a history of Clinton County published in 1879 it is said that no records exist of any proceedings of the board of commissioners prior to January 5, 1841, but the author continues: "We have verbal statements of old settlers which place it almost beyond doubt that there were meetings held during the year 1840, and that Elijah Buel, George Griswold, and Robert C. Bourne were the first Commissioners."[54]

Following the organization of Clinton County, the matter of county government seems to have been, for a considerable time, in a state of comparative quiescence. Indeed, no other counties were established until February 17, 1843, when a law was passed establishing the counties of Davis, Appanoose, Wappello,[55] Kishkekosh, Mahaska, Iowa, Poweshiek, Tama, and Blackhawk, and changing the boundaries of Keokuk, Benton, and Buchanan counties.

[52] *History of Jones County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 327, 328.

[53] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1840, p. 67.

[54] *History of Clinton County, Iowa* (1879), p. 350.

[55] This is the spelling given in this act.

This law provided for a temporary survey of the several counties which should fix the county boundaries until the lands were surveyed by the United States government. The law also authorized the Governor of the Territory to appoint and commission justices of the peace for each county, and gave the justices power to appoint constables.[56]

In December, 1843, the legislature was again in session, and during the month of February of the following year several laws were passed with regard to the organization of counties. The counties of Keokuk and Mahaska[57] were organized by a law adopted on February 5th, Delaware County[58] on the 8th, Wapello County on the 13th, and Davis County on the 15th.[59]

Delaware County. — The law concerning each of these counties, except Delaware, stipulated that organization should be effective from and after March 1, 1844. The law relative to Delaware County, on the other hand, declared that organization should take effect as soon as the act was passed, namely, on February 8, 1844.[60] This law, however, was the last of a series of laws relative to the organization of this county, and nothing was accomplished by its passage, except to secure a mere declaration that the county was organized. The records show that the county had in fact been fully organized in 1841, and from that time had continued as a separate organization. As early as December 20, 1839, a law had been passed which provided for the organization of the county. Commissioners were appointed

56 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1842–1843, pp. 131-135.

57 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1843–1844, p. 85.

58 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1843–1844, p. 105.

59 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1843–1844, pp. 114, 137.

60 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1843–1844, p. 105.

to locate the county seat and an election was provided for.[61] For some reason the commissioners did not meet as directed to locate the county seat. This may have been due to the fact that very few people had yet come to the county, or it may have been due to opposition among the settlers to the proposed plan of organization. However that may be, at the extra session of the legislature in July, 1840, an amendatory act was passed naming other commissioners. On January 13, 1841, a law was passed which authorized an election to determine the location of the county seat.[62] The records show that an election for the location of a county seat and for the choice of county officers was held on August 2, 1841. Delaware County had prior to this time been attached to Dubuque County, accordingly the election returns were sent to Dubuque County, where on October 4th the following persons were declared to be the first officers of Delaware County: Leroy Jackson, sheriff; William H. Whiteside, William Eads, and Daniel Brown, county commissioners; Robert B. Hutson, treasurer; John Padelford, recorder; Joseph Bayley, surveyor; Roland Aubrey, judge of probate; Fayette Phillips, assessor; William L. Woods, coroner; and Theodore Marks, public administrator. The county commissioners met at the house of William Eads on November 19, 1841. Charles W. Hobbs was appointed clerk of the board.[63]

Davis County. — In Davis County there was a compliance with the law with regard to election. Accordingly, the first Monday in April, 1844, was the date of the election of the first county officers. The records show that there

[61] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1839–1840, p. 9.

[62] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1840–1841, p. 48.

[63] *History of Delaware County, Iowa* (1878), pp. 342-349.

were 322 votes cast at this election including those from two precincts in what is now Appanoose County. Whether or not all of the voters came to the polls primarily for the purpose of voting may be subject to some doubt, since it appears that on the morning of election day a barrel of whiskey was delivered at the polls and that by the middle of the afternoon the last of it had been consumed. The number of persons who imbibed too freely does not appear. Suffice to say that during the afternoon and evening there were seven fights and "much confusion".

The election over, the next thing in order was a meeting of the commissioners. The members of the board experienced much difficulty in this connection, owing to the distance which they lived from the meeting place, the condition of the weather, and lack of means of travel. Samuel McAtee, one of the commissioners, in recounting his experience said: "I lived some ten miles from the claim of Col. Carpenter, the place agreed upon for the first meeting. . . . On the 13th of April, at the break of day, I started, on foot, to meet the other Commissioners. The streams were all past fording, and of course no bridges: and when I came to a stream too deep to wade by rolling up my breeches, and where a log could not be had to cross on, I pulled off my clothes, placed them on my head, drawing my hat over them, I tied them on by drawing my suspenders over the top and tying them under my chin. Having thus secured my clothes, I either waded or swam the stream, as the case required, and reaching the opposite shore, I dressed myself and resumed my tramp, crossing thus each stream that lay in my road, until I arrived at the place where the Court sat."[64] Abram Weaver, another member of the commission, experienced similar difficulties.

[64] *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. II, pp. 296-301; *History of Davis County, Iowa* (1882), p. 421.

At the first meeting of the board but little business was transacted. Among other things, however, it was ordered that the coroner be directed to call upon the commissioners who had been selected to locate the seat of justice and notify them of their appointment. On the 25th of April a special meeting of the county commissioners was held at the home of Dr. N. C. Barron. At this time, the seat of justice having been located, the members of the board cast lots to determine the name of the county seat. The result was the selection of the name Bloomfield.[65]

As stated above, a law was passed on February 5, 1844, which provided for the organization of Keokuk and Mahaska counties. An organizing sheriff was, by the terms of this act, appointed in each county. He was authorized to perform the regular duties of sheriff until his successor should be elected and qualified. It was stipulated that a special election should be held on the first Monday in April for the purpose of electing three county commissioners, a judge of probate, county treasurer, clerk of the board of county commissioners, county surveyor, assessor, sheriff, coroner, recorder, and justice of the peace. The officers elected at this time were to hold office until the next general election. Commissioners were appointed in each of these counties to locate the county seats.[66]

Keokuk County. — In accordance with the law of February 5, 1844, the first election was held in Keokuk County on April 1, 1844, at which time Jeremiah Hollingsworth, James M. Smith, and Enos Darnell were elected commissioners. On April 24th a meeting of the board was called to meet at the home of James M. Smith for the purpose of

[65] *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. II, pp. 300, 301.

[66] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1843–1844, pp. 85-88.

perfecting the county organization. Only two members of the board were present at this meeting and no business aside from that of organization was transacted. The second meeting was called for May 13, 1844.[67]

Mahaska County. — Mahaska County also complied with the law relative to organization, and held its first election for county officers on April 1, 1844. A full staff of county officers was elected at this time.[68] On Tuesday, May 14th, the board of commissioners met, the several county officers were duly sworn into office, the county was divided into election precincts, and the machinery of county government was soon in operation.[69]

A commission composed of Jesse Williams of Johnson County, Ebenezer Perkins of Washington County, and Thomas Henderson of Keokuk County had been appointed to locate the county seat. These men selected the southeast quarter of section thirteen, township seventy-five, range sixteen, as the future seat of government and gave it the name of Oskaloosa.[70]

Wapello County. — In Wapello County, as in the two counties just mentioned, the election for county officers was held on April 1, 1844, at which time three commissioners, a probate judge, sheriff, treasurer, recorder, clerk, and surveyor were elected. The board of county commissioners met for the first time on May 20, 1844. The members — Lewis F. Temple, James Montgomery, and Charles F. Harrow — were all present. These with the other officials-elect

67 *History of Keokuk County, Iowa* (1880), p. 346; election returns on file at Historical Department in Des Moines.

68 *History of Mahaska County, Iowa* (1878), p. 267.

69 *History of Mahaska County, Iowa* (1878), p. 276.

70 *History of Mahaska County, Iowa* (1878), p. 268.

qualified and the government of Wapello County was inaugurated.

The first transaction of the board consisted of the granting of a license to David Glass to keep a grocery in Ottumwa. This appears to be inconsistent since the minutes of the board of commissioners indicate that the meeting was held at "Louisville". The seeming incongruity is explained, however, by the fact that the name Ottumwa was not officially adopted until November, 1845. Prior to that date Louisville was the name most frequently used.[71]

On May 5, 1845, the Legislative Assembly again convened. During this session laws were passed relative to the organization of three additional counties. On June 10th, Iowa County was declared to be organized,[72] and on the same day but by another act Marion County was created.[73] The name Marion County does not appear previous to this time, hence this county was established and organized by the same act. On the following day, June 11th, Kishkekosh County was declared to be organized.[74] Iowa and Kishkekosh counties were each declared to be organized "from and after the first day of July", and in each case a special election for county officers was to be held on the first Monday of August. Marion County was declared to be organized from and after the first Monday in August, and an election was to be held on the first Monday of September. In each county commissioners were appointed to locate the county seat.

Marion County. — In accordance with the above law the

[71] *History of Wapello County, Iowa* (1914), Vol. I, pp. 100-102.

[72] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1844–1845, p. 85.

[73] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1844–1845, p. 93.

[74] *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1844–1845, p. 103.

first election in Marion County was held on Monday, the first day of September, 1845. At this time 187 votes were cast which resulted in the election of Conrad Walters, William Welch, and David Durham as county commissioners; Stanford Doud, clerk; Francis A. Barker, judge of probate; David T. Durham, treasurer; James Walters, sheriff; Reuben Lowry, recorder; Green T. Clark, assessor; Isaac B. Power, surveyor; and Wellington Nossaman, coroner.

The first meeting of the county commissioners was held on September 12, 1845. At this session the report of the commissioners for locating the county seat was received and arrangements were made for surveying the town of Knoxville, after which the board adjourned until the second Monday in October.[75]

On January 13, 1846, the Legislative Assembly passed a law entitled "An Act to establish new counties and define their boundaries." True to its title this law did not attempt to organize, but merely created, named, and bounded the twelve counties of Wayne, Lucas, Warren, Polk, Marshall, Jasper, Story, Boone, Dallas, Madison, Clarke, and Decatur.[76]

During this session of the legislature acts were passed for the organization of the counties of Benton,[77] Jasper, Polk,[78] and Appanoose.[79]

On January 17, 1846, the Legislative Assembly — in a single act — provided for the organization of the two counties of Jasper and Polk. This law stipulated that the organization should be effective from and after March 1,

75 *History of Marion County, Iowa* (1915), Vol. I, p. 77.

76 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1845–1846, p. 73.

77 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1845–1846, p. 86.

78 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1845–1846, p. 92.

79 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1845–1846, p. 55.

1846, and provided for a special election of county officers to be held on the first Monday in April. Marshall County was attached to the county of Jasper for election, revenue, and judicial purposes, while Story, Boone, and Dallas counties were attached to Polk County. Commissioners were also appointed to locate the county seat in each of the newly organized counties, and places were designated for the holding of the first term of the district court.

Iowa County. — In Iowa County the organizing election was held at the home of Robert M. Hutchinson on the 4th of August, 1845. A full staff of officers was elected, Mr. Hutchinson being chosen one of the county commissioners. The other members were Anderson Meacham and Edward R. Ricord. The commissioners convened in extra session on September 14, 1845. Few orders were passed at this meeting. One of these, however, is of interest in that it declared that "the name of the county seat shall be 'Valley Forge'" — the name Marengo having been previously designated by the locating commission. It appears that the name selected was unsatisfactory to many of the settlers and the county commissioners, supposing that they had authority in the matter, ordered that the name be Valley Forge instead of Marengo.[80] The order, however, did not prevail and the name remained unchanged.

Monroe County. — In Kishkekosh County the election for county officers was held in accordance with the law of August 5, 1845. The officers elected at this time were Wareham G. Clark, probate judge; James Hilton, clerk of court; Jeremiah Miller, clerk of the board of county commissioners; T. Templeton, treasurer; John Clark,

[80] *History of Iowa County, Iowa* (1881), pp. 354-357.

sheriff; and Joseph McMullen, Moses H. Clark, and J. S. Bradley, county commissioners. The first meeting of the board of commissioners was held on Saturday, August 9, 1845, at the house of W. G. Clark. The first order issued was one allowing Israel Kister the sum of $14 for services rendered in locating the county seat. James A. Galliher was allowed $18 for similar services.[81] On August 1, 1846, the name of the county was changed to Monroe. The county organization continued unchanged under the new name.[82]

Polk County. — In Polk County the organization election was held on the first Monday in April, 1846, at which there were 175 votes cast. Officers elected were three commissioners, a probate judge, sheriff, coroner, surveyor, treasurer, recorder, assessor, and collector. The first session of the board of county commissioners was held on April 12th. The eagle side of a half dollar was adopted as the temporary seal of the commissioners. Bills were allowed for the services of election clerks, licenses were granted for the keeping of two grocery stores, and an order of five dollars and twenty-five cents was allowed for the purchase of books and stationery for the use of the county. The commissioners then allowed bills for their own service and adjourned until May 25th.[83]

Jasper County. — The first election in Jasper County was held on the first Monday in April, 1846, as designated by law and a full staff of officers was elected. County government was officially inaugurated on April 14th when

81 *History of Monroe County, Iowa* (1896), pp. 18-31; *History of Monroe County, Iowa* (1878), p. 361.

82 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1845–1846, p. 108.

83 *History of Polk County, Iowa* (1880), pp. 420-424.

the county commissioners met for the first time. At this meeting very little business was transacted. A temporary seal was adopted, however, and minor matters of organization adjusted.[84]

Benton County. — Again on January 17, 1846, the same day on which Jasper and Polk counties were declared to be organized, a law with regard to Benton County provided for its organization from and after March 1st. This law stipulated that there should be a special election of county officers to be held on the first Monday in April. Black Hawk and Tama counties and the counties west of Tama were attached to Benton for election, revenue, and judicial purposes. Joseph A. Secrest, Lyman Dillon, and Joseph A. Downing were appointed to locate and establish the seat of justice and were directed to meet on the first Monday of May or within thirty days thereafter to perform the duty for which they were appointed.

In accordance with the provisions of the law relative to county organization an election was held on the first Monday in April, 1846, at which time Edwin B. Spencer, Samuel K. Parker, and Stedman Penrose were elected county commissioners. Other county officers were also elected at this time.

No written report has been left of the work of the board of commissioners which convened probably in May or June — the exact date does not appear. It was ordered that Northport be surveyed and platted. Steps were taken at the first meeting, however, for the erection of a courthouse and election precincts were designated.[85]

[84] *History of Jasper County, Iowa* (1878), pp. 325-327.

[85] *History of Benton County, Iowa* (1878), pp. 314-317; *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1845–1846, p. 86.

Appanoose County. — A law relative to Appanoose County, passed on January 13, 1846, provided for organization from and after the first Monday of August, 1846, and authorized an election for county officers to be held on that date.[86] The work of perfecting the county organization was taken up on October 5th. The county commissioners in charge of this work were Reuben Riggs, George W. Perkins, and J. B. Packard. At the first meeting of the board J. F. Stratton was appointed clerk and an order was given for the opening of certain territorial roads. Moreover a report was received from the commission appointed to locate the county seat and the name of Chaldea was chosen for the new town — the name being later changed to Centerville. After allowing certain bills relative to matters of organization the board adjourned.[87]

THE ORGANIZATION OF COUNTIES DURING THE PERIOD OF STATEHOOD

The first act of Congress relative to the admission of Iowa into the Union was approved on March 3, 1845.[88] Two years were spent in adopting the constitution and adjusting boundaries. The act which finally admitted the State was passed on December 28, 1846.[89] At this time Iowa contained forty-four counties[90] — twenty-nine of which were organized. The system of county commissioners was continued under the State government.

COUNTIES ORGANIZED WITH COUNTY COMMISSIONERS

Dallas County. — The first General Assembly of the

86 *Laws of the Territory of Iowa,* 1845–1846, p. 55.

87 *Past and Present of Appanoose County, Iowa* (1913), Vol. I, pp. 86-91.

88 *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. V, p. 742.

89 *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. IX, p. 117.

90 Garver's *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, p. 407.

State of Iowa convened at Iowa City on November 30, 1846. At this session two laws relative to county organization are to be noted. The first of these provided for the organization of Dallas County. It was approved on February 16, 1847,[91] and was to take effect on the first day of March. This law did not differ from those passed during the territorial period: it provided for an election to be held on the first Monday of April, outlined the duties of the organizing sheriff, appointed commissioners for locating the county seat, and designated the time and place of their meeting.

In accordance with this law an election was held on April 5, 1847.[92] The first meeting of the board of county commissioners was a special session held on the first Monday of May, 1847, and the first official act was the appointment of Joseph C. Corbell as justice of the peace. The first regular meeting was held in July, at which time a report was received from the commissioners relative to the location of the county seat. The place selected was named Penoach — the name was later changed to Adel.[93]

The second important law relative to county organization after the State was admitted to the Union was one with regard to Pottawattamie "and other counties". This law was approved on February 24, 1847,[94] and is unique in character. Instead of stipulating the date at which organization should become effective, it left the date indefinite and optional with the district judge — declaring that the county should be organized "at any time when, in the opinion of the judge of the fourth judicial district,

[91] *Laws of Iowa*, 1846–1847, p. 63.

[92] *History of Dallas County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 307-311.

[93] *History of Dallas County, Iowa* (1879), p. 313.

[94] *Laws of Iowa*, 1846–1847, p. 115.

the public good may require such organization." The law also provided that the organizing sheriff should be appointed by the judge and serve until his successor should be elected and qualified. The duties of the organizing sheriff as specifically set forth were "to give at least ten days' notice of the time and places of holding such special election, by posting up at least three written or printed advertisements, in at least three of the most public places in each precinct in said county, grant certificates of election", and perform the duties of clerk. Moreover, this law was both general and special in character — general in that it provided that any unorganized county in the State "may become organized in the same manner" as Pottawattamie County, and special in that it named and dealt specifically with but one county.

Buchanan County. — In this connection it should be noted that although the law mentioned Pottawattamie County in particular, Buchanan County was, as a matter of fact, the first to organize under the general provision of this law, for Pottawattamie County was not organized until a year later.

The first election in Buchanan County was held on August 2, 1847, when John Scott, Frederick Kessler, and B. D. Springer were elected county commissioners. The first meeting of the board was held on October 4th. At this time the county was divided into "three commission districts" — presumably with the intention of thereafter electing one county commissioner from each district. These districts later became townships.[95]

Poweshiek County. — Although, as we have already seen,

[95] *History of Buchanan County, Iowa* (1914), Vol. I, pp. 62-64.

a law had been passed by which any unorganized county might become organized, special acts for organization continued to be passed. Thus on January 24, 1848, a law was passed for the purpose of organizing Poweshiek County. This law was very similar to other special acts already considered. It provided for organization after April 3rd, and authorized an election of county officers on that date. These officers were to hold office until the regular State election in August. Three commissioners, a clerk of the court, sheriff, and surveyor were elected at this time.[96]

The record of the first meeting of the commission has not been preserved. It is known to have met, however, early in the summer of 1848, for at this meeting an order was passed for the purchase and survey of land for the county seat and this survey was completed on July 22nd of that year. Lots were then sold and from the proceeds a courthouse was erected.[97]

Pottawattamie County. — The law authorizing the organization of Pottawattamie County, it will be remembered, provided that it should be organized when in the opinion of the district judge local government was required. Accordingly it was organized under the authorization of Judge James P. Carlton in 1848.[98] The first election of county officers was held in September of that year, when A. H. Perkins, David D. Yearsley, and George D. Coulter were elected county commissioners. The date of actual organization of the county was September 21, 1848, at which time the first meeting of the board was held[99] at the

[96] *History of Poweshiek County, Iowa* (1880), p. 374.

[97] *History of Poweshiek County, Iowa* (1911), Vol. I, p. 85.

[98] *Iowa Official Register*, 1909–1910, p. 710.

[99] *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. IX, p. 530; Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 402; *History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa* (1882), p. 1.

home of Hiram Clark in Kanesville — the name first given to the present city of Council Bluffs.

Warren County. — The people of Warren County took advantage of the provisions in the general law for the organization of counties. Judge Olney, who held court in Marion County to which Warren County had formerly been attached as a precinct, authorized an election, and appointed Paris P. Henderson organizing sheriff. Under this plan of procedure the county was divided into precincts and notices posted calling an election to be held, for the selection of county officers. This election was held on January 1, 1849, and resulted in the election of a full staff of officers.[100] The county commissioners met on February 10th, at which time they divided the county into commissioners' districts and attended to other minor matters of organization.[101]

Madison County. — In Madison County, as in Warren County, the first election of county officers was held on January 1, 1849,[102] and the board of commissioners met on February 19th[103] in a special session which they designated as a "Commissioners' Court". The regular routine of business relative to organization was transacted — a seal was adopted, officers were sworn into office, and bonds were duly signed and accepted.

Allamakee County. — On January 15, 1849, a special act of legislation[104] was passed relative to the organization of

100 *History of Warren County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 333-337.

101 *History of Warren County, Iowa* (1879), p. 337.

102 *History of Madison County, Iowa* (1915), Vol. I, p. 30.

103 *History of Madison County, Iowa* (1879), p. 336.

104 *Laws of Iowa,* 1848–1849, p. 139.

Allamakee County, which together with Winneshiek County had been created on February 20, 1847. This law was to take effect after publication, which occurred on March 6th. Thomas C. Linton was appointed organizing sheriff and was authorized to call a special election of county officers. Commissioners were also appointed to locate the county seat.

The first election is reported to have been held on April 2, 1849, when county commissioners, a clerk of the board of commissioners, a clerk of the district court, and a sheriff were elected. The officers were authorized to serve the county until the time of the next regular election in August. The record of the exact date and of the proceedings of the first meeting of the board of commissioners has not been preserved. It is known, however, that the officers met and qualified on April 10, 1849, which date may be taken as the time of the organization of the county.[105]

Lucas County. — Lucas County, the next in order to take up the matter of local government, was the subject of special legislation. On January 15, 1849, a law was approved which declared that this county should be organized from and after the fourth day of July of that year.[106] The law also provided for an election of county officers to be held on the first Monday of August and appointed James Rowland as organizing sheriff. An election was called for August 6th, at which time a full staff of county officials was elected. Four days later, on August 10th, the county commissioners met in their first session at the home of William S. Townsend at Chariton Point.[107] The business

[105] *History of Winneshiek, Allamakee, and Iowa Counties* (1882), p. 366; letter of County Auditor J. A. Palmer, September 2, 1922.

[106] *Laws of Iowa,* 1848–1849, p. 88.

[107] *History of Lucas County, Iowa* (1881), p. 399.

transacted at this time was of the usual routine found in connection with newly organized county boards. A clerk was appointed, record books were provided for, and the organizing officials were allowed pay for their services.

Fremont County. — On February 24, 1847, the same day on which the law concerning Pottawattamie and other counties was approved, a law was passed establishing four new counties, namely, Ringgold, Taylor, Page, and Fremont.[108] The first of these to be organized was Fremont. During the early days in this county the Mormons dominated local affairs. With the increasing population the balance of power began to change and opinions adverse to Mormon government began to find expression in action. A petition was drawn up asking the legislature to pass a law for the organization of Fremont County. This petition was sent to a Mr. Baker, of Fairfield, a member of the legislature, but since he believed this to be only a plan for organization under Mormon control he did not present the matter to the legislature, and hence nothing came of it.

In 1849, however, the organization of the county was authorized by the judge of Polk County, to which Fremont had previously been attached. The first election, pursuant to the proclamation of David M. English, who had been appointed organizing sheriff, was held in April, 1849. David Jones, William K. McKissick, and Isaac Hunsaker were elected county commissioners.

The first session of the board of county commissioners was held on September 10, 1849, when the bonds of the several officers were examined and accepted and other minor matters of business were transacted.[109]

108 *Laws of Iowa,* 1846–1847, p. 114.

109 *History of Fremont County, Iowa* (1881), pp. 370-374.

Marshall County. — Marshall County, like several other counties already mentioned, took advantage of the general organization law of 1847. The first official act toward the perfection of local government was the appointment of Joseph M. Ferguson as organizing sheriff in the summer of 1849. The county was divided by Sheriff Ferguson into two townships, and an election for county officers was called for August 6th. Joseph Cooper, Jesse Amos, and James Miller constituted the board of county commissioners elected at this time.[110] The first official business was transacted on October 1, 1849.

Boone County. — The general law for the organization of counties, which was passed in connection with the organization of Pottawattamie County, was resorted to in connection with Boone County. Judge William McKay of the fifth judicial district, in accordance with this law, appointed Samuel B. McCall organizing sheriff and fixed the first Monday in August, 1849, as the time for holding a special election for county officers. The county commissioners — John Boyles, Jonathan Boles, and Jesse Hull — met on the first day of October, 1849. The first business transacted was that of ordering record books for the county, a seal was then provided, and orders were passed dividing the county into townships. After certain necessary bills were allowed the board adjourned until the 13th of October.[111]

Decatur County. — The election organizing Decatur County was held on April 1, 1850, and the first meeting of the county commissioners was on May 6, 1850. The com-

110 *Past and Present of Marshall County, Iowa* (1912), Vol. I, p. 112.

111 *History of Boone County, Iowa* (1880), pp. 352-355.

missioners were Josiah Morgan, William Hamilton, and Asa Burrell. The first order was one allowing Andrew Still the sum of $30 in payment for his services as organizing sheriff. It was also ordered at this meeting that the district court, probate court, and "commissioner's court" be held at the house of Daniel Moad until such time as the county seat should be located. At the July meeting in the same year the commissioners organized certain townships and sought to perpetuate their own names by naming three of the townships Morgan, Hamilton, and Burrell.[112]

Fayette County. — Under the authority of the general provisions of the law of February 24, 1847, for the organization of counties, R. R. Richardson was appointed sheriff with authority to organize Fayette County. An election was called for July 15, 1850, at which time the first county officials were duly elected. The records of Fayette County are not all preserved owing to the fact that many of them were burned in 1872, when the courthouse was set on fire by an escaping prisoner. It is known, however, that the board of county commissioners held a meeting on August 26, 1850. The first act of the board related to the establishment of road districts. Road viewers were appointed and authorized to meet in November.[113]

Wayne County. — Wayne County was established by legislative enactment of January 13, 1846, and attached to Appanoose County for judicial, revenue, and election purposes. Under the authority of the general law for the organization of counties, Judge William McKay, on November 8, 1850, appointed Isaac W. McCarty organizing sheriff,

112 *Biographical and Historical Record of Ringgold and Decatur Counties, Iowa* (1887), p. 712.

113 *History of Fayette County, Iowa* (1878), pp. 349-353.

with authority to post notices and call an election to be held on December 28th for the purpose of electing county officers. The county commissioners elected at this time held their first meeting on January 27, 1851. The records of this meeting are preserved and present to the reader interesting side lights. Each order is numbered and stands out clearly. The spelling and capitalization, however, suggest the need of some improvement. The first order reads: "Act the 1 alowd I W Mccarty For Organising the County as organnising Sherrif . . . . $20.00". Eleven such orders were passed, all of which dealt with matters relative to organization and the paying of bills thus incurred.[114]

Taylor County. — Taylor County remained unorganized from the date of its establishment in 1847 until 1851, when Elisha Parker was appointed sheriff and assumed the duties of organization. In accordance with the law, he posted notices in three public places within the county, calling attention of the voters to an election to be held in February, 1851. At this election only fifty-three votes were cast, indicating a small population in the county. Notwithstanding this fact, a full staff of county officers was elected, Jacob Ross, Levi L. Hayden, and Daniel Smith being named as county commissioners. The first meeting of the commissioners was held on February 26th, at which time the county officers were sworn into office and required to give bond for the faithful performance of their respective duties. This seems to have been the sole purpose of the meeting for this having been done the board adjourned until the first Monday in April.[115]

The county business continued to be transacted, for the

[114] *Biographical and Historical Record of Wayne and Appanoose Counties, Iowa* (1886), pp. 491-493.

[115] *History of Taylor County, Iowa* (1881), p. 386.

most part, at the home of Jacob Ross until a commission was appointed by the legislature to locate the county seat.

Page County.—Page County was established, together with Ringgold, Taylor, and Fremont counties, on February 24, 1847, the same day on which the law was approved for the organization of Pottawattamie and other counties. There is a difference of opinion as to the date of organization. One author gives the date of the first election as in the fall of 1850. He says that William L. Burge was the organizing sheriff and that the election took place at Boulwar's Mill. Other reports agree that the election was held in 1851 and that William Hudson was the organizing sheriff. It is probable that the latter date is correct although one can not say with certainty.[116]

At this time there were but two townships in the county —Buchanan and Nodaway. S. F. Snyder, John Duncan, and William Shearer were elected commissioners but the place of the board of commissioners was soon taken by Major Connor, the first county judge. Judge Connor did not complete his first term of two years: he was succeeded by William L. Burge who served out the remainder of the term.

The early records of the county are incomplete and one can not say with certainty when the first official business was transacted. A mortgage recorded under date of March 22, 1852, makes it clear that the county officers assumed their duties prior to that date. The first existing record of the county court is dated January 15, 1858, and reads as follows: "Be it known that on the night of the 12th of January, 1858, all of the books and papers belonging to the

116 *Laws of Iowa*, 1846–1847, p. 114; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 420; *History of Page County, Iowa* (1909), Vol. I, p. 94; *History of Page County, Iowa* (1880), pp. 385-387, 394.

office of County Judge of Page county, together with the building in which they were kept, were destroyed by fire. It is therefore ordered by this court that there be furnished new books in which to keep the record of said court."[117] Accordingly, while it is known that the county was organized as early as 1852, the facts concerning the early years of the county's history are not definitely and clearly known.

COUNTIES ORGANIZED UNDER THE COUNTY JUDGE SYSTEM

During the session of the legislature in 1851 the "New Code" was adopted and went into operation on July 1st of the same year. By the adoption of this code of laws an entire change in the government of counties took place. The board of county commissioners which had existed from the first organization of the Territory was entirely abolished and a single officer, called the county judge, was substituted.

The authority of the county judge was summed up in the statement contained in the *Code of 1851* that he should assume the "usual powers and jurisdictions of county commissioners and of a judge of probate", and that he was also to be the "accounting officer and general agent of the county". He was directed to manage all county business, except such as was by law placed in the custody of another officer, and to "superintend the fiscal concerns of the county and secure their management in the best manner".

Under this provision of the law the authority of the county judge became very great. Indeed county government under his influence came to be spoken of as a monarchical system and the judge was called a "one man power".

[117] *History of Page County, Iowa* (1909), Vol. I, p. 94.

One author in commenting upon this subject said: "the county judge was possessed of very large powers — more so, proportionately, than a king has over his subjects."[118]

Although the county judge was given a great deal of authority and in fact frequently assumed as much power as possible, there was nevertheless a provision in the law permitting him to submit questions to a vote of the people, in case of doubt as to the best method of procedure. In practice, however, this vote, which was in the nature of a referendum, was seldom resorted to.

The date at which one can say that a county is officially organized under the county judge system is more or less arbitrary, depending upon the conception of the term. The date upon which the judge qualified might be considered as the date of organization, since the law provided that "the county court shall be considered in law as always open". Accordingly regular sessions were not necessary for the judge to transact official business. For the transaction of business requiring notices, however, the judge held regular sessions each month.[119]

Mills County. — The organization of Mills County was effected by an election held on the first Monday in August, 1851, when William Smith was elected county judge. He assumed the duties of his office on the 18th of the same month, after subscribing to an oath that he would support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Iowa and "without fear, favor, affection or hope of reward" administer justice "equally to the rich and poor".[120]

118 *Code of 1851,* Secs. 103-107; *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VI, p. 134; *Biographical and Historical Record of Greene and Carroll Counties, Iowa* (1887), p. 472.

119 *Code of 1851,* Sec. 125.

120 *History of Mills County, Iowa* (1881), p. 381.

Clarke County. — Clarke County, established in 1846, was the next in order to be organized. The election for the purpose of organizing was held on August 4, 1851, at the residence of William Vest. Only thirty-seven votes were cast. The officers elected included both a county judge and county commissioners. It would seem that although a law had been adopted placing county government in the hands of a county judge and abolishing the county commissioners, there was a tendency to cling to the old type of government, hence the election of the county commissioners. Indeed the commissioners are said to have met in an organized body on August 21, 1851. This is believed to be the latest date at which any board of commissioners met in Iowa for the purpose of organizing a county, and even in this case county affairs were soon given over to the county judge.[121]

Winneshiek County. — Just prior to the adoption of the law making a change in county organization, a law had been passed for the purpose of organizing Winneshiek County. This law was approved on January 15, 1851, and provided for organization from and after the first of March. As a matter of fact, however, the first election was not held until August 4th of the same year — after the change to the county judge system had gone into effect. At this election David Reed was elected county judge. Accordingly it is believed that he together with the judges of Mills and Clarke counties all of whom were elected on the same day were the first county judges in Iowa to be elected at the time the county was organized. The first official act of Judge Reed of which there is a record was the convening of the county court in September, 1851.

[121] *Biographical and Historical Record of Clarke County, Iowa* (1886), p. 450.

Since there was no business to come before the court it was adjourned until the following month.

On the same day on which the law was passed relative to the organization of Winneshiek County — January 15, 1851 — a law was approved providing for the establishment of fifty new counties. This was the most important act in the whole history of the establishment of counties, for it was the most comprehensive and created the largest number of counties. The fifty new counties named in the order in which they appear in the act were: Union, Adair, Adams, Cass, Montgomery, Mills, and Pottawattamie, in the southwestern part of the State; Bremer, Butler, Grundy, Hardin, Franklin, and Wright, in the northeastern and north-central part; Risley, Yell, Greene, Guthrie, Audubon, Carroll, Fox, and Sac, in the west-central part; Crawford, Shelby, Harrison, Monona, Ida, and Wahkaw, on the western border of the State; Humbolt, Pocahontas, Buena Vista, Cherokee, and Plymouth, in the northwest; Chickasaw, Floyd, Cerro Gordo, Hancock, Kossuth, Palo Alto, Clay, O'Brien, and Sioux, in the second tier from the north; and Howard, Mitchell, Worth, Winnebago, Bancroft, Emmet, Dickinson, Osceola, and Buncombe, in the northern part of the State.

Of the fifty counties just enumerated four — Risley, Yell, Humbolt, and Bancroft — were subsequently blotted out and hence were never organized. Three others — Fox, Buncombe, and Wahkaw — the names of which were later changed will be considered in the order of their organization.[122]

122 *History of Winneshiek and Allamakee Counties, Iowa* (1882), p. 191; *Laws of Iowa,* 1850–1851, p. 27.

Election returns found at the Historical Department in Des Moines indicate that an election was held in Winneshiek County as early as 1847. Evidently nothing resulted from this election as there is no further record of organization until 1851.

Guthrie County. — In Guthrie County Theophilus Bryan was appointed organizing sheriff. He qualified for this office on July 8, 1851, and proceeded to lay off the county into townships for election purposes. Notices were then sent out calling an election to be held on the first Monday of August. In accordance with this notice an election was held and the organizing sheriff was himself elected to the office of county judge. The first order of the judge of which we have record was issued on October 16th, when the town of Panora was ordered to be surveyed as the county seat.

It is interesting to note in this connection the public spirit which was manifested by the first officers of the county. Instead of dividing the spoils of the treasury, the officers, on September 6, 1852, "in view of the depressed state of the treasury" mutually agreed to relinquish all claims for services rendered up to and including that date.[123]

An act passed by the General Assembly on January 12, 1853, provided that certain unorganized counties should be attached to organized counties in the following manner: the county of Greene was attached to Dallas; the counties of Story, Risley, Yell, and Fox and the counties north of Risley, Yell, and Fox were attached to Boone County. The counties of Mitchell, Howard, Floyd, Worth, and Franklin were attached to Chickasaw, and Hardin County was attached to Marshall.

Section two of this law provided that, "Whenever the citizens of any unorganized county desired to have the same organized, they may make application by petition in writing signed by a majority of the legal voters of said county, to the County Judge of the county to which such unorgan-

[123] *History of Guthrie and Adair Counties, Iowa* (1884), pp. 267-269.

ized county is attached; whereupon said County Judge, shall order an election for county officers in such unorganized county.'"[124]

This was the second general law for the organization of counties. It differed from the general law of 1847, which was passed in connection with the organization of Pottawattamie County, in that the former law placed the matter of organization under the direction of the district judge, while the new law placed the matter in the hands of the judge of the organized county, to which the county desiring to be organized was attached. Moreover, the former law provided for organization at any time when, in the opinion of the district judge, the public good required it. The new law provided that a petition signed by a majority of the voters of the county must be presented to the judge asking for organization. Thus the matter was not entirely optional with the judge, nor could organization be effected until a majority of the citizens favored it.

Webster County. — The law above mentioned, which attached Risley and other counties to Boone County, provided in another section that the name Risley should be changed to Webster. Thus Webster County came into being as attached to Boone County on January 22, 1853 — the day on which the law became effective by publication.[125]

An election was called by Judge Samuel McCall of Boone County, to be held on April 4, 1853, for the purpose of electing officers and perfecting the organization of Webster County. The election is said to have been more of a political contest than has usually been found in connection with elections for organization. Indeed in two of the offices,

[124] *Laws of Iowa,* 1852–1853, p. 28.

[125] *Laws of Iowa,* 1852–1853, p. 28.

that of sheriff and school fund commissioner, the votes cast resulted in a tie and thus failed of election.

William Pierce was the man first elected to the office of county judge, and under his administration county organization became effective. The first record of official business transacted by the county judge was that of the issuance of a marriage license to John J. Holmes and Miss Emily Lyons, which bears the date of May 14, 1853.[126]

Hardin County. — Prior to the date of its organization Hardin County was attached to Marshall County for election and judicial purposes. In February, 1853, in accordance with the law, a petition of the legal voters of the former county was presented to the county judge of Marshall County, who ordered an election of county officers to be held on the 2nd day of March, 1853. The county was divided into two townships — the south half of the county constituting Latham Township and the north half Morgan Township. Each township was designated as an election precinct.

Preparatory to the election, a convention was held at the home of Reuben King for the purpose of placing in nomination candidates for the various offices. This was the first convention ever held in Hardin County. A committee was appointed to select candidates and it presented two names for each office to be filled.

It appears that no poll was opened in Morgan Township and that but thirty-two votes were cast at the first election. The officers selected at this time were Alexander Smith, county judge; Samuel Smith, recorder and treasurer; James D. Putnam, clerk of the district court; Thomas

[126] *History of Fort Dodge and Webster County, Iowa* (1913), Vol. I, pp. 83-87; *History of Hamilton County, Iowa* (1912), Vol. I, p. 51.

Bennett, sheriff; and William Shafer, school fund commissioner. For some reason William Shafer failed to qualify and Samuel R. Edgington was appointed to fill the vacancy. The early records of the county have been lost and the date of the first official business is not known.[127]

Story County. — In accordance with the law of 1853 the organization of Story County became effective under the authorization of the county judge of Boone County, to which Story County had been attached. The election for county officers was held on April 4, 1853, when Evan C. Evans was elected county judge.

The first official business of the judge was to appoint an assessor — no one having been elected to that office at the April election. The exact date of this appointment is not known. It was in the spring of 1853, however, for the appointed officer entered upon his duties in June of that year. The assessor received for his services the sum of $1.50 per day. The first order of the county judge was that Stephen P. O'Brien receive $36 for twenty-four days' service as assessor of Story County. The salary attached to the office of county judge was small, and the record of the county indicates that he must have done a great deal of work for the compensation he received — always performing faithfully and well the duties of his office. In some of the counties of the State county affairs were badly managed as will later appear. Story County was fortunate in this regard and much of the credit is due to Judge Evans, who continued to serve his county for several years.[128]

A second law passed on January 12, 1853, was one con-

127 *History of Hardin County, Iowa* (1883), pp. 234, 235.

128 *History of Story County, Iowa* (1911), Vol. I, pp. 38-41.

cerning the five counties of Adams, Cass, Harrison, Shelby, and Wahkaw, and declared that they be considered as organized after the first Monday in March, 1853. It was further provided that a special election be held in each of these counties, except Wahkaw, on the first Monday of April, 1853.

For election, revenue, and judicial purposes the counties of Montgomery and Union were attached to Adams County — each as a civil township. Election returns were to be sent to the organizing sheriff of Adams County. For similar purposes Monona County was attached to Harrison County; Crawford and Carroll counties to Shelby County; and Ida, Sac, Buena Vista, Cherokee, Plymouth, Sioux, O'Brien, Clay, Dickinson, Osceola, and Buncombe counties to Wahkaw. Ringgold County was attached to Taylor County.[129]

Shelby County. — Shelby County, one of the fifty established in 1851, was temporarily attached to Pottawattamie County.[130] By an act of the legislature approved on January 12, 1853, the county was declared to be organized from and after the first Monday in March following, and a special election for selecting county officers was to be held on the first Monday in April.[131] In accordance with this law an election was held on April 4, 1853, and the following officers were elected: James M. Butler, county judge; V. Perkins, clerk of the court; and Andrew Fontz, sheriff. Only thirteen votes were polled at this organizing election. This indicates not only that the population of the county was at this time very small but suggests the further fact

[129] *Laws of Iowa,* 1852–1853, p. 21.

[130] *Iowa Official Register,* 1909–1910, p. 712.

[131] *Laws of Iowa,* 1852–1853, p. 23.

that it was difficult to secure a sufficient number of competent men to fill the county offices. This latter fact is substantiated by the report that the sheriff elected was illiterate and given to frequent over-indulgence in strong drink.

It is said that upon his election he received a copy of the *Code of 1851* which he took home for his wife to read to him. The section which he heard most often was the one which makes habitual drunkenness a sufficient cause for divorce. The sheriff soon became tired of this reading and returned the volume to the judge with the request that no other such books be sent home with him.

Soon after the organization the county seat was located at Shelbyville, a town which has since ceased to exist. The county judge, however, was opposed to the selection of the county seat and accordingly the first county business was transacted at Hancock's grocery store. The date of the first official business is not known.[132]

Cass County. — Near the site of the present town of Lewis in Cass County there was established in 1846 a little village known as Indiantown. Here in the year 1853 Cass County was organized. The first election of county officers was held on the first Monday of April. Jeremiah Bradshaw, a pioneer merchant who had come from Illinois and opened a store at Indiantown a short time prior to this, was elected county judge. The other officers were V. M. Concord, treasurer and collector; C. C. Woodward, clerk; Francis E. Ball, sheriff; Levi M. Mills, drainage commissioner; David Chapman, surveyor; and James M. Benedict, coroner. The first county business was transact-

132 Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 391.

ed at Indiantown, and the first order for money to be paid out of the county treasury was an order for $34 to be paid to the locating commissioner for seventeen days' service in locating the county seat. The date of this order does not appear. The records show, however, that a deed for the transfer for certain land was recorded on June 17, 1853. This appears as the first recorded official business in the county.[133]

Union County. — Another law to be considered was the one for the organization of Union County. This law was passed on January 12, 1853, and provided for the organization of Union County from and after the first day of March and authorized a special election to be held at Pisgah on the first Monday of April. John Edgecombe was appointed organizing sheriff. Under the authorization of this act an election was held at the time indicated, resulting in the choice of Norman Nun for county judge, Joseph W. Ray for clerk, and Henry Peters for sheriff. At the election there were but ten votes cast, but these were sufficient to place the county in the organized group. Nor was competition lacking in the election.

It is reported that there were two candidates for judge, Norman Nun and W. M. Lock, who, in a private caucus, mutually agreed to vote for each other, but when the time came Nun failed to live up to his part of the agreement, voting for and electing himself county judge — the vote standing six to four. The first official act of Judge Nun was to receive the resignation of A. P. Nun, constable, on June 22, 1853. That the judge was lacking in legal training may be inferred from the fact that he could not write

[133] *History of Cass County, Iowa* (1884), p. 298; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 405; Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 322, 323.

his name and always signed official records by use of an X mark.[134]

Tama County. — The next county to be considered is Tama, which was one of the nine counties established on February 17, 1843, but attached to Benton County for election, judicial, and revenue purposes. On March 10, 1853, the voters of Tama County presented a petition to the county judge of Benton County asking for a separate organization which was duly granted and an order was issued for holding an election on the first Monday of May. Tallman Chase was elected county judge and called the first county court on the first Monday in July. Since the officers elected at the May election would hold office only until the time of the regular election in August several of the officers elected did not qualify. At the August election J. C. Vermilya was elected to the office of county judge to succeed Judge Chase.[135]

Harrison County. — The law passed on January 12, 1853, as mentioned above, provided for the organization of Harrison County. The first steps taken after this date was a meeting of the commissioners to locate the county seat. The location was made at Magnolia and this fact was officially reported to Michael McKenney, organizing sheriff, who, in accordance with the law, called an election to be held at the county seat on the first Monday of April. At this time there were but two voting precincts in the county: one west of the Boyer River at Magnolia, and the other east of the river at Owen Thorpe's.[136]

134 *Laws of Iowa,* 1852–1853, p. 26; *Biographical and Historical Record of Ringgold and Union Counties, Iowa* (1887), p. 678.

135 *History of Tama County, Iowa* (1879), p. 19.

136 *History of Harrison County, Iowa* (1888), pp. 142, 143.

The result of the election was that Stephen King was elected county judge; P. G. Cooper, treasurer and recorder; William Dakan, prosecuting attorney; Chester M. Hamilton, sheriff; and William Cooper, clerk of the court. The first regular meeting of the county court was held on August 5, 1853, about four months after the organizing election. This appears as the first official business transacted in the county.[137]

Chickasaw County. — Chickasaw was one of the fifty counties established in 1851. By legislative enactment of January 22, 1853, the county was attached to Fayette County for election, revenue, and judicial purposes.[138] Early in the spring of the same year an attempt was made to organize the county. An election was held and J. K. Rowley was elected county judge. It appears, however, that the formalities of the law were not complied with in some particulars and the election was held to be invalid.

On June 30, 1853, the county judge of Fayette County appointed John Bird as organizing sheriff. On the 12th day of August an election was held resulting in the choice of the following officers: James Lyon, county judge; S. C. Goddard, clerk; N. D. Babcock, prosecuting attorney; E. A. Haskell, treasurer; and Andy Sample, sheriff. Judge Lyon assumed the duties of his office on September 12, 1853.[139]

Bremer County. — Bremer County, one of the fifty estab-

[137] Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 410.

[138] *Laws of Iowa*, 1852–1853, p. 29.

[139] Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 414; data secured from the county auditor of Chickasaw County, September, 1922.

lished in 1851, was attached to Black Hawk County for judicial, election, and revenue purposes on January 22, 1853,[140] and was organized by an election held in August, 1853. At this time eighty votes were cast and the following men elected as the first county officers: Jeremiah Farris, county judge; Austin Farris, sheriff; John Hunter, treasurer and recorder; Herman A. Miles, clerk of the court; John H. Martin, school fund commissioner; and Israel Trumbo, surveyor.

The records of the county court commence with the first session held in the town of Waverly on August 15, 1853. The first entries were concerning orders fixing the amount of bonds required of the various county officers. The bonds of the treasurer, recorder, and sheriff were each fixed at $5000. The first regular session of the court convened in December of the same year.[141]

Adams County. — Adams County was the next to be organized under this law. Complete records of organization are not available, but it is known that Amos Lowe was appointed organizing sheriff and that an election was held, as prescribed by law, on the first Monday in April, 1853, at which time county officials were elected. Samuel Baker was chosen county judge, and John H. Calvin recorder. The first order of Judge Baker that appears on record was one allowing to William Davis $26 for thirteen days' service as one of the commissioners to locate the county seat. The date of this order is not known. The evidence is clear, however, that the organization was perfected during the summer of 1853, for on September 21st of that year the first transfer of land made in the county was recorded.

140 *Laws of Iowa,* 1852–1853, p. 86.

141 *History of Butler and Bremer Counties, Iowa* (1883), pp. 799, 811.

This constitutes the earliest record of business in Adams County now available.[142]

Montgomery County. — Montgomery County, one of the fifty established in 1851, was by a legislative enactment of January 12, 1853, as indicated above, attached to Adams County for revenue and judicial purposes. Amos G. Lowe was by the same act appointed organizing sheriff and the first election was ordered to be held at his house. There are two reports concerning this election: one that it was held in April, the other that it occurred in August. It is probable that the April election was the one held for the purpose of organizing Adams County of which Montgomery County was at that time a voting precinct. Accordingly it is believed that the election for the organizing of Montgomery County was held on the first Monday of August, 1853. However that may be, the record is clear that Amos G. Lowe was elected county judge and that he transacted his first official business on August 15th when he ordered a levy of certain taxes.

It may be noted in this connection that the salary of the county judge for the first year was $50. The clerk received $25 and the treasurer $20. The second year the clerk's salary was raised to $30.[143]

Black Hawk County. — The act by which Black Hawk County was established in 1843 attached it to Delaware County for election and judicial purposes. Subsequently, in 1845, it was similarly attached to Benton County. Still

[142] Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 298; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 415; *History of Montgomery County, Iowa* (1881), p. 328.

[143] *History of Montgomery County, Iowa* (1881), pp. 327-328; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 419.

later, in 1851, Black Hawk, together with Bremer, Butler, and Grundy counties, was attached to Buchanan County. The records of Buchanan County under date of January 30, 1853, show that a petition, signed by a majority of the legal voters of Black Hawk County, was received. This requested that an election be called for the first Monday in August for the purpose of electing the various county officers.

At the election held in accordance with this petition on the first Monday in August, 1853, the following officers were elected: county judge, Jonathan R. Pratt; treasurer and recorder, Aaron Dow; clerk of the district court, John H. Brooks; prosecuting attorney, William L. Christie; sheriff, John Virden; school fund commissioner, H. H. Fowler; drainage commissioner, Norman Jackson; coroner, Edmund Butterfield; county surveyor, Charles Mullan.

It appears that there was no person in the county at that time authorized to administer the oath of office to the new officers, for on the 9th day of August Mr. Pratt, county judge-elect, went to Independence where the oath of office was duly administered to him by the county judge of Buchanan County.

The first recorded act of official business transacted by the judge was the administering of the oath of office to the other county officers-elect on the 17th of August at which time official bonds were filed and approved and the officers entered upon the discharge of their duties.[144]

Woodbury County. — Reference has been made to Wahkaw County which was established in 1851. On January

144 Van Metre's *History of Black Hawk County, Iowa* (1904), pp. 32, 39, 40; data secured from the county auditor of Black Hawk County, September, 1922.

12, 1853, an act was passed declaring the county to be organized after the first Monday of March. On the same day another act changed the name to Woodbury — the latter law going into effect on January 22nd.[145]

At the general election which was held at the house of William Thompson, on August 1, 1853, sixteen votes were cast and the following officers elected: Marshall Townsley, judge; Hiram Nelson, treasurer and recorder; Eli Lee, coroner; and Joseph P. Babbitt, district clerk. The records of the county begin with the date January 27, 1854, when certain bills were allowed, the first being an order for $18 payable to Thomas L. Griffey for services in locating the county seat.[146]

Adair County. — Adair County was among the group of fifty counties established in 1851. The Fourth General Assembly passed a law by which Adair was attached to Cass County and made to constitute a civil township.[147] In April, 1854, an election was held to select the first county officers and for the organization of the county. At this election George M. Holaday was elected county judge and John Gibson was elected clerk. The first record of an official act by Judge Holaday was on May 1, 1854. On the 3rd of July the same year the county was divided into two election precincts by a line running north and south, dividing it equally. The west half was called Washington Township; the east half Harrison Township. It is said that the first regular meeting of the court was held on May 6, 1854. The only business transacted at this time was the

[145] *Laws of Iowa*, 1852–1853, pp. 21, 28.

[146] *History of the Counties of Woodbury and Plymouth, Iowa* (1890–1891), pp. 76, 80, 81, 264, 266.

[147] *Laws of Iowa*, 1852–1853, p. 23.

issuance of a marriage license to William Stinson — this is but another example of the wide variety of duties which at that time devolved upon the county judge.

The record of court under the date of the first Monday in July, 1855, contains an order "that John Gibson, county clerk, be allowed in all for fifteen months' salary as clerk, $62.50 and that G. M. Holaday be allowed $52.50 as his salary for fifteen months, from the 1st of April, 1854 to the 1st of July, 1855."[148]

Greene County. — Greene County was established in 1851, and on January 22, 1853, was attached to Dallas County. Prior to this time it had been temporarily attached to Polk County. In 1854 there was a population of about one hundred and fifty persons, and the county was deemed sufficiently populous to entitle it to a separate organization. Accordingly organization was provided for by the election of county officers on August 12, 1854. William Phillips was the first county judge. The first official business was transacted on August 25th when an order was issued that Greene County should be divided into two election precincts.[149]

Floyd County. — On June 21, 1854, the people of Floyd County petitioned Judge James Lyon, of Chickasaw County, to which Floyd had previously been attached for judicial purposes, asking for a separate organization. Judge Lyon granted the petition and the first election of the county officers accordingly took place on August 7th of that year — eighty-five votes being cast. The officers

148 Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 389; *History of Adair County, Iowa* (1915), Vol. I, pp. 7-9.

149 *Biographical and Historical Record of Greene and Carroll Counties, Iowa* (1887), p. 466.

elected were: John M. Hunt, county judge; S. C. Goddard, county clerk; Thomas Connor, prosecuting attorney; Joshua Jackson, treasurer and recorder; William Montgomery, sheriff; J. G. Shoemaker, surveyor; C. P. Burroughs, school fund commissioner; Horace Stearns, assessor; and Nicholas Fleenor, coroner. Thomas Connor failed to qualify and David Wiltse was appointed prosecuting attorney in his place.

As an example of the economy with which county affairs were managed, the records indicate that the salary of the judge for the first quarter, ending on the first Monday of December, 1854, was $10.17. This item also indicates that the officers received pay dating from the first Monday in August, the date of their election. The first record found of an official meeting, however, bears the date of September 4, 1854, when the first session of the county court convened at Freeman.[150]

Mitchell County. — Prior to 1854 Mitchell County had been attached to Chickasaw for election and judicial purposes. In the summer of that year a petition for county organization was prepared and presented to the county judge of Chickasaw County who, in accordance with the request, issued an order that an election should be held on the 7th of August. Upon the date named the electors of the county met at the house of Dr. Alexander H. Moore, near the present site of the city of Osage. Candidates were first nominated, but as this matter had been previously discussed, it took but a short time to fill out the ticket, and the election followed immediately. It is said that, "A man's political creed was not asked nor thought of, and all the proceedings were characterized by the most perfect

[150] *History of Floyd County, Iowa* (1882), pp. 323, 362, 371, 385.

harmony.'' The ballot box consisted of an ordinary wood box provided for the occasion, and the tickets were written by the clerks. Alexander H. Moore was elected county judge. After organization, books were procured and each officer opened his county office in his own cabin until suitable county buildings could be procured.

The first term of the county court was held at the home of Judge Moore on October 2, 1854. The record states that ''no business being presented court adjourned until the November term''.[151]

Butler County. — As indicated above, Butler County together with Black Hawk, Bremer, and Grundy counties, was attached to Buchanan County in 1851. The territory was sparsely settled at this time, however, and there is no evidence that the people of Butler County took any part in the governmental affairs during the time this relationship existed. In 1853 settlers sufficient in number had arrived to warrant an attempt to organize a county. Accordingly in May of that year Judge Oliver Roszell appointed commissioners to locate the county seat. In August following, by order of the same magistrate, an election was held for organizing Butler County. A full staff of county officers was elected but as the offices were not deemed sufficiently lucrative to warrant the trouble of a journey to Independence to take the oath of office, the officers-elect all failed to qualify.

Soon after this Butler County was detached from Buchanan County and attached to Black Hawk. Pursuant to an order issued by the county judge of the latter county, a second election was held in August, 1854, and a permanent organization was effected on October 2nd of that year,

151 *History of Mitchell and Worth Counties, Iowa* (1884), pp. 145-148.

John Palmer being the first county judge. On October 28, 1854, the first levy of taxes was made, the total levy for the year being $698.50.[152]

Monona County. — Monona County, established in 1851, was attached to Harrison County for election purposes on January 12, 1853. Under this jurisdiction and under the authority of the general law of 1853 the county was organized in 1854 — the organizing election being held on April 3rd of that year. The following persons constituted the first county officers: Charles B. Thompson, county judge; Hugh Lytle, treasurer and recorder; Andrew Hall, clerk; and J. F. Lane, sheriff. The first county business was transacted at the Mormon town, Preparation. Indeed the organization of the county was largely in the hands of the Mormons, who were, at this time, an influential factor in political affairs.[153]

The county judge had himself formerly been a follower of Joseph Smith at Nauvoo. Early in 1854 he had brought some fifty or more families and preëmpted several thousand acres of land in Monona County. Thus when he became county judge he was able to control and regulate practically all of the affairs of the county, both temporal and spiritual, since he pretended to have spiritual authority over his followers under the direction of a spirit which he called Baneemy. Thus Judge Thompson was for a time perhaps the most autocratic judge of his time. No records of the official acts of Judge Thompson have been preserved, but it is known that he served as judge until the fall of 1855.

[152] *History of Butler and Bremer Counties, Iowa* (1883), p. 232.

[153] *Laws of Iowa,* 1852–1853, p. 23; Howe's *Annals of Iowa,* Vol. III, p. 17; *History of Monona County, Iowa* (1890), p. 166; Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. III, p. 391.

Ringgold County. — Ringgold County, together with Taylor, Page, and Fremont counties, was established by legislative enactment of February 24, 1847. It was attached to Taylor County in 1853. Unlike most counties organized during this period it was organized by a special act of legislation which was approved on January 18, 1855, and became effective by publication in the papers of Iowa City on the 31st of January in the same year. This law provided for organization from and after the first day of March, appointed William McAfee of Taylor County organizing sheriff, and designated the first Monday in April as the date of the first election. It seems that for some reason the election was not actually held until May 14th, for under this date are to be found the oaths subscribed and sworn to by the organizing sheriff and the judges and clerks of the election. At this organizing election only thirty-four votes were cast — resulting in the selection of a full staff of county officers. James C. Hagans was elected county judge.

On the 29th of June the judges of Ringgold and Taylor counties met to make a settlement of financial statements. This is the first official business of the county judge of which there is a record. Three days later, on July 2nd, the county officers held their first meeting as an organized board.[154]

Audubon County. — Audubon County, by legislative enactment of January 12, 1853, was attached to and made a civil township of Cass County. On the same day the general law applicable to county organization was passed — becoming effective ten days later on the 22nd of Janu-

[154] *Laws of Iowa,* 1846–1847, p. 114, 1852–1853, p. 24, 1854–1855, p. 50; *Biographical and Historical Record of Ringgold and Decatur Counties, Iowa* (1887), p. 408.

ary. This law provided, as already mentioned, that whenever citizens of an unorganized county desired to have their county organized, they might make application to the county judge of the county to which they were attached, who in turn would order an election for organization. It was under the authority of this provision that the people of Audubon County petitioned the county judge of Cass County asking for organization. The first election was held at the house of John S. Jenkins in section 29 of Exira Township on April 2, 1855. Thomas S. Lewis was elected county judge. In May commissioners were appointed to locate the county seat. Two of the men appointed qualified and made a selection, which they reported on June 20th. The site chosen was called Dayton. This town was laid out and platted by Judge Lewis on July 9, 1855. This is the earliest available record of an official act of the judge.[155]

Crawford County. — Crawford County, one of the fifty established in 1851, was attached to Shelby County on January 12, 1853. A petition was circulated asking for a separate organization. This was granted and in April, 1855, temporary officers were elected to serve the county until the regular election in August. At this first election E. W. Fowler was elected judge. There is no record of any county business transacted prior to the August election. It is recorded, however, that the judge was allowed the sum of four dollars and sixty cents for his services until that date. It was under the leadership of Judge John R. Bassett, who was elected to the office of county judge in August, that the matter of county organization took definite shape. The first meeting of record was held on September 3, 1855. On the third of December of the same year the

[155] *Iowa Official Register*, 1909–1910, p. 690; *History of Audubon County, Iowa* (1915), p. 48.

judge, clerk, and recorder met and reported the amount of money they had received since August 1st — the judge having received $5.75, the clerk $3.00, and the recorder $8.70, a total of $17.45. They made an equal division of this amount and each took one-third of the amount toward the payment of his salary.[156]

Howard County. — Howard County, established in 1851, was attached to Chickasaw County on January 22, 1853. It appears that there was some opposition to organization, but the matter was skillfully handled, and before the opposition was aware of it a petition was presented and an order from the court issued directing that an election be held. The records of Judge James Lyon of Chickasaw County contain the following: "A petition was presented to me on the 17th day of July, 1855, for organizing Howard County."

In accordance with this request it was ordered that Edmund Gillett be organizing sheriff and that an election be held on Monday, August 6, 1855.

The election was held as directed and the following officers elected: James G. Upton, county judge; Edmund Gillett, clerk; William Woodward, treasurer and recorder; John Harlow, sheriff; and M. V. Burdick, attorney.

The first entry found upon the record book of the county bears the date of September 15, 1855, and is an order of the county to pay $126 for books and stationery for the use of the county. A desk for the use of the clerk was also ordered at this time.[157]

On January 24, 1855, the legislature passed an act rela-

156 *Laws of Iowa*, 1852–1853, p. 23; *History of Crawford County, Iowa* (1911), Vol. I, pp. 78, 79; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 408.

157 *History of Chickasaw and Howard Counties, Iowa* (1883), p. 339.

tive to the attachment of unorganized counties. This law became effective on February 28th of the same year and provided that the counties of Calhoun and Sac should be attached to Greene County; Wright, Humbolt, Pocahontas, Palo Alto, Kossuth, Hancock, Winnebago, Bancroft, and Emmett to Webster County; and Franklin to Hardin County.[158]

Wright County. — Wright County was the first of this group of counties to be separately organized. The first meeting relative to organization is said to have been held at the cabin of S. B. Hewett, on the Boone River, in the vicinity of the present city of Eagle Grove. The first election was held on August 6, 1855, at which time the following officers were elected: David Dean, county judge; C. H. Martin, clerk of court; Anson Brassfield, recorder and treasurer; S. Crapper, sheriff; S. B. Hewett, Jr., surveyor; and N. B. Paine, attorney. The first official act of the judge of which there is record is that in connection with the October term of court.[159]

Calhoun County. — Calhoun County, together with Sac County, was attached to Greene County on January 28, 1855. It soon became apparent to the citizens of Calhoun County that they were paying taxes into the treasury of Greene, and that very little revenue came back to them in the form of needed improvements. They decided, therefore, to take the necessary steps for a separate organization. Pursuant to the provisions of the law of January 22, 1853, they submitted a petition to William Phillips who

[158] *Laws of Iowa,* 1854–1855, p. 211.

[159] Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. III, p. 437; letter of County Auditor F. W. Walker, September 2, 1922.

was then judge of Greene County, asking him to order an election for county officers. Judge Phillips granted the petition and designated the first Monday in August, 1855, as the day for such election. At this time Peter Smith was elected county judge; Joel Golden, clerk; Christian Smith, treasurer and recorder; William Oxenford, sheriff; and Ebenezer Comstock, attorney. The date upon which these officers assumed office is not given. It is known, however, that the judge administered an oath to the commission for locating the county seat on November 7, 1855. This is the first official act of which there is record.[160]

Carroll County. — By a legislative enactment of February 14, 1855, Carroll County was attached to Guthrie. On the 16th of July following, Judge James Henderson of Guthrie appointed an organizing sheriff and ordered an election to be held on the first Monday in August for the purpose of electing officers for Carroll County. This election was held at the time appointed and officers were elected accordingly, A. J. Cain being elected county judge.

The county judges, as has already been noted, were in a position to assume a great deal of authority and rule the people harshly. Indeed they were sometimes compared, in this respect, to the Czar of Russia. Judge Cain, however, was not of this type. It is said that he was "honest, fat and jolly" and that his constituents had no reason to complain of his official acts. Although sometimes given to "deep potations" and inclined to bet on his ability to handle a rifle, yet he presided over his court with dignity and disposed of judicial matters with justice.

The first official act of the county judge was on August

160 *Laws of Iowa,* 1854–1855, p. 211; *Past and Present of Calhoun County, Iowa* (1915), Vol. I, pp. 67, 68.

17, 1855. The first money paid out of the county treasury was the sum of four dollars paid to James White for taking the laws of Iowa, a small volume of about four hundred pages, from Iowa City to Carroll County. This was not an exorbitant charge, for Mr. White spent three weeks in making the round trip and, because of storms and difficulties, had to abandon some of the freight with which he started. At the same session of the court an order was made allowing the judge the sum of $12.50 as salary for the first quarter, at the rate of $50 per year. The treasurer was allowed the same amount for the quarter, and the clerk was given $16 in full payment to date.[161]

Cerro Gordo County. — In the spring of 1855 what is now Cerro Gordo County was attached to Floyd County as a civil township. Under the provisions of the law as it then existed the citizens of the attached county petitioned the county judge for an election for organization. The petition was granted and an election called for August 7, 1855. As soon as it was known that an election was to be held, a convention was called for the nomination of officers. John B. Long, a very prominent man among the settlers, was active in the matter of organization and was the first to be nominated for county judge. The election was held on the date prescribed and Mr. Long received forty-nine of the fifty votes cast for the office of judge. At the first term of court there was no business to be transacted, so the court adjourned.

The first record of business transacted was the allowing of a bill for $458.25 for county books and supplies. This

[161] *Laws of Iowa*, 1854–1855, p. 6; *Biographical and Historical Record of Greene and Carroll Counties, Iowa* (1887), pp. 643, 644; *History of Carroll County, Iowa* (1912), Vol. I, p. 28; data secured from the county auditor of Carroll County, September, 1922.

was on December 29, 1855. At this time a bill for the judge's salary was allowed. It amounted to $15.30. C. W. Scott, clerk of the court, drew the same amount as his salary.[162]

Kossuth County. — As indicated above Kossuth County was attached to Webster County in January, 1855. In August of the same year an election was held for the purpose of organization and Kossuth County entered upon a separate existance. The first officers were: Asa C. Call, county judge; Robert Cogley, clerk of the court; J. W. Moore, treasurer and recorder; and Lewis H. Smith, surveyor.

The first entry upon the minute book of the county judge bears the date of March 1, 1856. It consists of an order by the judge that swine and sheep should not be permitted to run at large within the county after the first of June. It further stipulated that the "above regulation will be submitted to the voters of Kossuth County at the ensuing April election". This is significant as reminding one of the fact that although the county judge might, if he chose, assume almost unlimited power, he might on the other hand, if he so desired, submit questions for the approval of the people under what would be considered to-day as a referendum vote. As a matter of fact it appears that this was seldom done in any of the counties.[163]

Franklin County. — Franklin County, one of the fifty established in 1851, was subsequently attached to Chickasaw and Hardin counties. The authorities differ as to which of these two counties finally authorized organization.

162 *History of Franklin and Cerro Gordo Counties, Iowa* (1883), pp. 602, 605.

163 *History of Kossuth and Humboldt Counties, Iowa* (1884), p. 246.

From the legislative enactments, however, it is clear that Franklin County, together with Mitchell, Howard, Floyd, and Worth counties, was attached to Chickasaw County on January 22, 1853, and that Franklin County was attached to Hardin on January 28, 1855. Thus it would be within the authority of the judge of Hardin County to call the election for organization. In the history of Franklin and Cerro Gordo counties, however, it is said that there were conflicting claims and that both of the above named counties claimed authority to organize. The author continues by saying: "It is known, however, that in July, 1855, the county judge of Chickasaw county issued an order for holding an election in Franklin county, and that on the 5th of August, 1855, the election was held at the house of James B. Reeve."

However this may be, the election was held on the date mentioned and James B. Reeve was elected judge. After the election, John Mitchell, one of the judges of the election, is said to have gone to Bradford, the county seat of Chickasaw County, to take the election returns. The newly elected judge and treasurer traveled all the way to Davenport to secure books and blanks for county use. The first business of record was transacted when the county court convened on March 3, 1856.[164]

Grundy County. — Grundy County was established in 1851 and was attached to Black Hawk County in 1853. It was organized under the general law for the organization of counties, which was passed in that year. Accordingly the election was called under the direction of the county court of Black Hawk County and the election returns re-

[164] *Laws of Iowa*, 1852–1853, p. 28, 1854–1855, p. 211; *History of Franklin and Cerro Gordo Counties, Iowa* (1883), p. 148; *History of Franklin County, Iowa* (1914), Vol. I, p. 123.

ported to the office in that county. The election was held on May 5, 1856, and the following officers were elected: Thomas G. Copp, treasurer; Elias Marble, clerk; A. W. Lawrence, judge; T. G. Hoxie, sheriff; and C. F. Clarkson, prosecuting attorney. The judge is reported to have assumed the duties of his office on December 25, 1856.[165]

Sac County. — Sac County, together with Calhoun County, was attached to Greene County for administrative purposes in 1855. In 1856 it was given a separate organization — the first election being held on April 7th of that year, when thirty-seven votes were cast in the entire county. Samuel L. Watt was elected county judge; F. Lagourge, sheriff; H. C. Crawford, attorney; and F. M. Cory, treasurer and recorder. A second election was held on May 10, 1856. The first entry in the minute book of the county is relative to this second election. The date of the entry, however, is not given.

An interesting commentary on the salary of officers is found in the records of this county, where on December 7, 1857, the following appears: "and now comes the citizens and tax-payers of Sac county, Iowa, praying for an increase of salary of the following officers: County judge, clerk of district court, and recorder and treasurer. It is asked in the petition that the salary be raised from fifty dollars to ninety-nine dollars per annum, and the petition was granted and the court hereby orders and decrees that the foregoing officers receive ninety-nine dollars per annum, commencing with August, 1857."[166]

165 *Iowa Official Register,* 1909–1910, p. 699; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 389; data secured from the county auditor of Grundy County, September, 1922.

166 *Laws of Iowa,* 1854–1855, p. 211; *History of Sac County, Iowa* (1914), pp. 44, 65; data secured from E. B. Long, clerk of the district court, of Sac County, October, 1922.

Hamilton County. — A law passed on December 22, 1856, provided that "so much of the County of Webster, as lies east of range twenty-seven, west of the fifth principal meridian .... is hereby created and organized into a new county to be called Hamilton." Accordingly, this county was established and declared to be organized by the same act. The territory included in this county comprised sixteen townships and the boundaries were exactly the same as those of the former county of Risley.

The first election was held on Monday, April 6, 1857, when John D. Maxwell was chosen judge and Cyrus Smith treasurer. The first business of record is that of issuing an order for county seals on June 12, 1857.[167]

Humboldt County. — One of the fifty counties established in 1851 was called Humbolt. It was temporarily attached to Boone County in 1853. An act of January 24, 1855, attached it to Webster County, while another act of the same day partitioned the county between Kossuth and Webster. Thus the county became extinct on July 1, 1855. On January 28, 1857, the county of Humboldt was created. It appears to have been the intent of the legislature to make the new county coincide with the former county of Humbolt, but one of the townships was omitted from the bill and the law was passed in this form. Later an attempt was made to correct the error. The new Constitution of Iowa had in the meantime been adopted, which forbids the change of county boundaries without the consent of the counties affected. The constitutionality of the act attempting to make the correction was questioned and was held to be invalid. Hence the new county did not become co-

[167] *Laws of Iowa*, 1856–1857, p. 11; Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 352, 353; *History of Hamilton County, Iowa* (1912), Vol. I, p. 66; data secured from the county auditor of Hamilton County, September, 1922.

extensive with the old but was created anew on January 28, 1857.

The records show that the county was organized under the authority of Webster County and that the election was held on the first Monday of August, 1857. There were one hundred and three votes cast, of which Jonathan Hutchison received sixty-four for the office of county judge, thus being duly elected to that office.

The first entry in the "Minute Record" is interesting as indicating not only the time of organization and the nature of the business, but the spelling and punctuation used in those days. It reads as follows:

"State of Iowa)
) County Corte
Humboldt County)

now on this day caim Calven W Beere and Reseived apointment of Countay Assessor in and for the County of Humboldt for the year A D 1857 and qualefyed by giving Bond and taking the oath of office accordin to Law this 31 day of August A D 1857

Jonathan Hutchison
County Judge."[168]

Dickinson County.—While Dickinson County was nominally attached to Woodbury for judicial and election purposes, it was, because of the distance from the seat of justice, practically outside of any civil jurisdiction whatever. Accordingly the settlers very early decided to take advantage of the first opportunity to organize a separate county. It was necessary under the law for some one to go to the county seat of Woodbury County to present a

[168] *Iowa Official Register,* 1909–1910, pp. 700, 701; *Laws of Iowa,* 1856–1857, p. 199; data secured from County Auditor J. C. McFarland, of Humboldt County, September, 1922.

petition to secure such election and again to take the election returns.

These trips to Sioux City were "no holiday affairs". The route was along the Floyd River. There were no settlements except within a few miles of the city and the journey required several days, during which time there was constant danger of an encounter with a roving band of Indians. It will be understood, therefore, that no slight degree of danger and hardship was experienced in making the journey.

In spite of the difficulties to be encountered a petition for organization was drawn up, signed by some twenty voters, and taken to Sioux City by C. F. Hill, who was rewarded for his services by being elected to the office of sheriff at the election held on the first Monday in August, 1857. O. C. Howe was at this time elected county judge.

The records of the first proceedings of the county officers are not preserved, having been destroyed when the courthouse at Spirit Lake was burned in 1871.[169]

Winnebago County. — Winnebago County was for a time under the jurisdiction of Boone County, but in 1855 it came under the jurisdiction of Webster County. Thus it remained until the fall of 1857, when an order was issued for an election to organize the county and elect county officers. The election was held in October of that year and the following officers were elected: Robert Clark, county judge; C. H. Day, treasurer and recorder; B. F. Denslow, clerk; J. S. Blowers, sheriff; C. W. Scott, superintendent of schools and surveyor; and Darius Bray, drainage commissioner.

The early records of the county having been burned in

[169] *History of Dickinson County, Iowa* (1902), pp. 168-170; data secured from County Auditor Guy Pangborn, of Dickinson County, September, 1922.

1861, the exact date of the transactions of the first official business is not known. It is said that the first legal contest to be decided by Judge Clark was one involving the question of illegal voting. Certain parties had sworn in their votes, and an attempt was made to show that these were not citizens and that certain officers were therefore not duly elected. After hearing all of the evidences the judge decided that the defendants were not guilty and that the election should stand. The date of this case is not given.[170]

Worth County.— Worth County was one of the fifty established in 1851. It was attached to Chickasaw County on January 22, 1853, to Floyd in 1855, and to Mitchell in 1857. It was organized under an order emanating from Arad Hickcock, county judge of Mitchell County, under date of September 1, 1857. The election for county officers was held on October 13th of the same year and Dr. James Keeler was elected to the office of judge.

It appears that the election was called prior to the date authorized by the Governor hence the question of legality confronted the newly elected officers, and there was a delay until the legislature could pass a legalizing act. In the meantime the county was attached to Cerro Gordo County.

On March 23, 1858, the General Assembly passed a legalizing act as follows: "Whereas, It was found that the county judge issued the order for this election in Worth county three days before the date of the governor's proclamation for an election in this State, from which a question has arisen in regard to the legality of the said election: now, therefore,

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of

170 *History of Kossuth, Hancock and Winnebago Counties, Iowa* (1884), pp. 732, 753.

Iowa, That the election holden in Worth county on the 13th day of October, 1857, shall be declared legal".

This act became effective upon publication on April 6, 1858, and the officers elected at the previous election assumed their duties on the first of May.[171]

Clay County.—In 1853 the legislature attached Clay County to Wahkaw—now Woodbury County. At this time it was a county only in name; the fertile prairies had not yet attracted the attention of those seeking homes in the western territory. It was not until the fall of 1858 that the settlers petitioned for a separate organization in order that the county might, as it was said, "take its position among the older counties of the sovereign state of Iowa". Charles C. Smeltzer drew up the petition which was circulated among the voters, and which in turn resulted in securing an election to be held on October 12, 1858. At this election eighteen votes were cast, Mr. Smeltzer being elected judge. He was evidently greatly elated over the result of the election, for in the records he indicated that a separate organization would give to the county "the proud position of an independent sovereign within itself, with all the characteristics of a prosperous people, noble, loving and enterprising, ready to assume the guardianship of the weak and dispense even-minded justice to the benighted of Northwestern Iowa."

Three days after his election, on October 15th, the judge entered upon his official duties.[172]

[171] *Laws of Iowa*, 1852–1853, p. 28, 1854–1855, p. 175, 1856–1857, p. 66, 1857–1858, pp. 53, 284; *History of Mitchell and Worth Counties, Iowa* (1884), pp. 557, 558.

[172] *Laws of Iowa*, 1852–1853, p. 24; *History of Clay County, Iowa* (1909), pp. 48, 49; data secured from the county auditor of Clay County, September, 1922.

Cherokee County. — Cherokee was another of the counties established in 1851. Plans were made for its organization under the provisions of the general law of 1853, as soon as there was sufficient population within the county. Meanwhile the county was attached to Woodbury, then known as Wahkaw, and was designated as "Cherokee Civil Township".

By the year 1857 the population was such as to justify organization, and an election was called during the month of August of that year. A. P. Thayer was the first county judge. The other officers elected at the August election were: Carlton Corbett, George W. Lebourveau, Samuel W. Hayward, Benjamin Sautell, and George Killem.

It is reported that "Every voter in the newly made county was present, and everything passed off fair and quietly, it being pretty much one-sided, all voting for what seemed the best interests of the county." There were, however, but nineteen votes cast.

The first official business of Judge Thayer appears to have been the signing of a warrant for $4.30 payable to D. N. Stoddard for overseeing certain road work. This was dated October 2, 1858. On November 16, 1860, there was a general settlement of accounts of the county officers. The clerk was allowed $38.85 for his services from October 18, 1859, to November 16, 1860 — a period of thirteen months. For the duties of the combined office of treasurer and recorder the sum of $62.95 was allowed. The sheriff received $2.50, indicating that these were halcyon days in Cherokee County.[173]

An important addition was made to the list of county officers on March 12, 1858, when provision was made for

[173] *Biographical History of Cherokee County, Iowa* (1889), p. 246; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 352.

a county superintendent of schools. This law provided that "On the first Monday of April next, and biennially thereafter, on the second Monday of March, in each organized county in this State there shall be elected one County Superintendent of Common Schools, who shall hold his office for two years, and until his successor is elected and qualified." On the 19th of the same month a law was approved which stipulated that in case any county should, for want of notice or other cause, fail to elect a county superintendent on the date designated, that an election should be held for that purpose on the first Monday of May.[174] Accordingly, counties which were organized after the first Monday in April, 1858, were authorized to elect as one of their county officers a superintendent of schools.

Plymouth County. — Plymouth County, established in 1851, was organized under the direction of the county judge of Woodbury County, to which it was attached at that time. The first election was held on October 12, 1858, when the following persons were elected: William Van O'Linda, county judge; Isaac T. Martin, treasurer and recorder; A. C. Sheetz, clerk of the court; Daniel M. Mills, sheriff; and A. E. Rea, county superintendent of schools.

The early records of the official business of the county begin with minute book "A" bearing the date of October 27, 1858.[175]

Buena Vista County. — The first attempt to organize Buena Vista County was in the summer of 1858, when a

[174] *Laws of Iowa*, 1857–1858, pp. 72, 115.

[175] *History of the Counties of Woodbury and Plymouth, Iowa* (1890–1891), p. 419; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 372; data secured from the county auditor of Plymouth County, September, 1922.

petition was signed by fifteen voters and presented to Judge John L. Campbell of Woodbury County, to which county Buena Vista was at this time attached. Judge Campbell was not assured that fifteen voters constituted a majority of the electors residing in the county so he did not grant the petition. In October of the same year the citizens circulated another petition. This time twenty-two voters signed it and Luther H. Barnes, one of the petitioners, took oath that this number constituted a majority of the voters in the county. Accordingly the petition was granted and an election called for the third Monday in November in the town of Sioux Rapids. Arthur T. Reeve was elected county judge.

The records of the county court in Woodbury County show that Judge Reeve was sworn into office on the 20th of November, 1858, and assumed his duties immediately. One of the first official acts was to levy a six mill road and bridge tax, which brought in about $200 during the next year.[176]

Palo Alto County.—Palo Alto County, another of the fifty which were established in 1851, was attached to Boone County in 1853, and to Webster County in 1855. It remained a part of the latter county until a separate organization was established in 1858. This was an unsatisfactory arrangement for the early settlers and gave rise to considerable inconvenience and some litigation. One case over a title to land was carried to the Supreme Court of the State, where it was decided that a conveyance of land in Palo Alto County made in 1857 was properly recorded in Webster County, and that such record constituted constructive notice to a subsequent purchaser after the or-

176 *Past and Present of Buena Vista County, Iowa* (1909), pp. 44, 45, 47.

ganization of Palo Alto as a separate county without further record in Palo Alto.

In 1858 the settlers took definite steps toward organization. An election was held on October 2nd of that year, but as the preliminary requirements had not been complied with the proceedings were declared illegal. The settlers then drew up a petition which they sent to Judge Luther L. Pease of Webster County who granted the request and ordered an election to be held on December 20, 1858. James Hickey received a majority of the votes cast for the office of county judge and was declared duly elected. A clerk of the district court, treasurer and recorder, drainage commissioner, surveyor, coroner, and sheriff were also elected but there appears to have been no election of a county superintendent at this time. The officers were sworn into office, and on the 29th of December Judge Hickey ordered books for the county record and Thomas Maher was allowed $15.00 for bringing these from Fort Dodge.[177]

Hancock County. — Hancock County was established in 1851, and on January 24, 1855, was attached to Webster County for election, judicial, and revenue purposes. Later it was attached to Winnebago County under which it was organized in 1858. The first white settlement in the county dates from 1854 when a location was selected at Upper Grove, on the Iowa River. Other settlers came very slowly, so that organization was not effected until 1858. On June 28th of that year the first election of county officers was held, at which time M. P. Rosecrans was elected judge; George Louppee, clerk; Reuben Church, treasurer and recorder; Benoni Haskins, sheriff; Charles R. Wright, surveyor; G. R. Mabin, superintendent of schools; and James

[177] *History of Palo Alto County, Iowa* (1910), pp. 63-67; Meagher *v.* Drury, 89 Iowa 366.

C. Boner, drainage commissioner. The county seat was not located until 1865. In the meantime county business was transacted at Ellington or at Upper Grove as was most convenient for the county officers.

The first official business of the county was recorded on November 25, 1858. The first order for money to be paid out of the treasury was for lumber used in constructing county buildings. Although organization was perfected in 1858, the first session of the county court of which there is record was held in December, 1860, when an effort was made to have the village of Amsterdam made the county seat.[178]

Ida County. — Ida County was established in 1851. In 1853 it was attached to Wahkaw under whose authority it was later organized. The first settlement of whites in the county was at Ida Grove in 1856. The county was organized in 1858. The first election was held August 4th of that year, when the following officers were elected: John H. Moorehead, county judge; J. S. Loveland, treasurer and recorder; Bushrod Warren, clerk of the district court. At that time the population of the county was only about forty persons.[179] The term of the officers began January 1, 1859.

Pocahontas County. — During the fall and winter of 1858 the settlers of Pocahontas County discussed the advisability of effecting a county organization and most of them signed a petition asking the county judge of Webster

178 *Laws of Iowa,* 1854–1855, p. 211; *History of Kossuth, Hancock and Winnebago Counties, Iowa* (1884), pp. 565, 566; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 397; data secured from the county auditor of Hancock County, September, 1922.

179 *Laws of Iowa,* 1850–1851, p. 33, 1852–1853, p. 24; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 373.

County — to which Pocahontas was at that time attached — to issue a call for an election and order an organization. This petition was granted and an election ordered to be held on March 15, 1859. At the election on that date twenty-three votes were cast. David Slosson was elected to the office of county judge. Six days later, on March 21st, he qualified for office and took oath before Judge Luther L. Pease of Webster County. On May 11th the first session of the county court was held but the only business transacted was that of swearing into office the other county officials. The first money paid out of the treasury was the sum of $2.85 for books and stationery furnished the county.

On July 9, 1859, the salary of county officials including the treasurer, clerk, and judge was fixed at $50 each per year. For some reason a county superintendent was not elected at the March election in 1859. At the second election, on October 11th, a county superintendent was elected but he did not qualify so the office was not actually filled until March, 1860, when Judge John A. James appointed Oscar F. Avery to fill the vacancy.[180]

Emmet County. — Emmet County was established in 1851 and was attached to Boone County for temporary purposes on January 23, 1853, and to Webster County on July 1, 1855. As the population of the county increased there developed a desire for a separate county organization. Accordingly late in the year 1858 a petition was circulated and presented to the judge of Webster County asking for authority to organize. This petition was granted and an election called for Monday, February 7, 1859.

[180] *The Pioneer History of Pocahontas County, Iowa* (1904), pp. 184, 185, 207.

The available authorities differ somewhat as to the officers chosen at this election, and the destruction of the records by the burning of the courthouse in the fall of 1876 renders it impossible to get the official returns. It is agreed, however, that Adolphus Jenkins was the first county judge.[181]

O'Brien County. — Reference has been made to the fact that some of the counties of northwestern Iowa were organized for financial gain rather than for bona fide purposes of government. O'Brien County furnishes perhaps the most outstanding example of this, although the same is true, but in a less extreme form, in other counties, including Sioux, Clay, and Buena Vista.

O'Brien County was established in 1851 and was attached to Woodbury County. In January, 1860, plans were inaugurated to organize the county. A petition directed to the court of Woodbury County was signed by eight so-called citizens and voters of the county of O'Brien. As a matter of fact, however, Hannibal H. Waterman was at this time the only bona fide voter in the county. The rest of the signers were promoters of a scheme to advance their own selfish interests. In accordance with the petition, however, the county judge of Woodbury County on January 25, 1860, authorized an election for organization and appointed I. C. Furber organizing sheriff. The election was held on February 6th, and the following officers were elected: I. C. Furber, county judge; Archibald Murray, clerk of the district court; Hannibal H. Waterman, treasurer and recorder — the latter having been elected only to make matters appear bona fide. The first official county

181 *Laws of Iowa,* 1850–1851, p. 37; *Iowa Official Register,* 1909–1910, p. 697; *History of Emmet County and Dickinson County, Iowa* (1917), Vol. I, p. 86.

business is reported as having been transacted at the town of O'Brien on April 7, 1860.

N. Levering in writing for the *Annals of Iowa* in 1871 said the counties of Sioux and O'Brien were organized by a band of schemers, and that organization having been completed "a system of plunder was commenced by levying enormous taxes on the lands in the counties, a heavy school and school house tax was levied when there was not a scholar in the county; bridge, road, and court house taxes were levied, when neither were built for years after. This revenue, — all except the state tax, — went into the pockets of these land pirates". Moreover, when an act of legislation was passed giving swamp lands to the county, these men selected the dryest and best land in the county and delegated part of their number to go to the eastern States and sell it — which they did, appropriating the proceeds to their own use. Not being satisfied with this they issued county bonds and sold them on the eastern market keeping the money. Later when it appeared that these bonds were worthless they bought them back at a greatly reduced figure, and later when the county became well established these same promoters, having organized a bank, cashed the bonds at face value.

It should be said, however, to the credit of the county, that the bills were finally paid, the citizens preferring to pay face value rather than have it appear that county obligations were not met.[182]

Sioux County. — Sioux County was established in 1851 and attached to Wahkaw (Woodbury) in 1853. The first

[182] *Past and Present of O'Brien and Osceola Counties, Iowa* (1914), Vol. I, pp. 29-31, 53; *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. IX, pp. 604-606; *Iowa Official Register,* 1909–1910, p. 708; data of first official business secured from the county auditor of O'Brien County, September, 1922.

permanent settlers located in the county just prior to 1860 and during that year sought to perfect a county organization. As indicated above this county, together with O'Brien and others, was organized by promoters for personal aggrandizement. At the time of the first election there were but fifteen people residing within the limits of the county and, indeed, for a number of years the population in this section of the State was very sparse, owing to Indian trouble in the bordering counties.

The exact date of the holding of the first election is not known, neither do the available records indicate the date of the first official business. It is known, however, that W. H. Frame was elected as the first county judge; F. M. Hubble, clerk; and E. T. Stone, treasurer and recorder.

The first county seat was located at Calliope where the county business was transacted until 1872.[183]

THE RETURN TO THE COUNTY SUPERVISORS

By the year 1859 the county judge system had fallen into such disrepute that the legislature at its session in 1859 and 1860 virtually abolished the office and made provision for the election of a board of supervisors to consist of one member from each township, whose duty it was to manage the affairs of the county. This law was to take effect on July 4, 1860.[184] At this time there were ninety-seven organized counties in Iowa. Only two remained to be organized — Lyon and Osceola.

Lyon County. — It will be recalled that the county of Buncombe was one of the fifty counties established in 1851.

183 Gue's *History of Iowa,* Vol. III, p. 412; *Iowa Official Register,* 1909–1910, p. 712; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 384.

184 *Revision of 1860,* p. 48.

This was attached to Wahkaw, which was later given the name of Woodbury. Buncombe thus remained under the jurisdiction of Woodbury until it was organized on January 1, 1872. In the meantime, however, the name Buncombe had been changed to Lyon. Thus it was that Lyon County prior to its organization was under the jurisdiction of Woodbury County.

In the spring of 1871 there was a large influx of population into Lyon County, due to a large extent to the beginning of the Sioux City and St. Paul Railroad. It is estimated that in the fall of that year there was a population of a thousand people in the county. On October 10th of the same year occurred the first election of county officers, at which ninety-seven votes were polled. The officers elected consisted of J. S. Howell, Charles H. Johnson, and H. T. Helgerson, county supervisors, upon whom devolved the chief functions of government; Charles E. Goetz, auditor; James Wagner, treasurer; D. C. Whitehead, clerk; T. W. Johnson, sheriff; Thomas Thorson, recorder; L. A. Ball, superintendent of schools; and Ethan Allen, surveyor.

The board of supervisors met in its first session on January 1, 1872, when the county assumed the duties of a separate organization.[185]

Osceola County. — At the session of the board of supervisors of Woodbury County in June, 1871, a resolution was passed "that the county of Osceola in the state of Iowa be organized at the general election of 1871". Provision was also made for dividing the county into three townships. Thus it will appear that the county of Osceola was organized, as was Lyon, under the authorization of Wood-

[185] Hyde's *Historical Sketch of Lyon County, Iowa* (1873), pp. 6, 20; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 384.

bury County. Since there were three townships in the county, three supervisors were to be elected. The general election referred to was held on October 10, 1871, the same day on which the organizing election was held in Lyon County. A full quota of county officers was elected at this time. The members of the board of supervisors were George Spaulding, H. R. Fenton, and J. H. Winspear. The board met as an official body on January 1, 1872.[186] Thus the last two of the ninety-nine counties came into being as separate organizations on the same day.

In reviewing the history of the organization of the several counties, one is impressed with the various changes which have taken place from time to time. The two original counties, Demoine and Dubuque, were organized under a board of supervisors made up of three members elected by the people and acting in the capacity of both township and county officers. The judicial officers in these counties were appointed by the Governor of the Territory.

Upon the division of Demoine County and prior to further organization provision was made that each county should have three supervisors who should be elected "at the annual town meeting". Thus although the number of supervisors remained the same, their method of election is more nearly that of county officials and is a step further removed from township organization. Under this plan of government five additional counties were organized, namely, Lee, Van Buren, Henry, Louisa, and Muscatine.

On December 20, 1837, a law was passed which created the board of county commissioners which also consisted of three members but was purely a county board. Moreover,

186 *Past and Present of O'Brien and Osceola Counties, Iowa* (1914), Vol. I, pp. 537, 538.

it is to be noted that up to this time there was no definite plan provided for organization. The law simply provided for the election of officers who, having been elected, proceeded to organize under the direction of the Governor but without legislative acts of organization, such as were common at a later period. The first law which provided definitely for organization was passed in connection with Jefferson County on January 21, 1839. This law not only declared that the county should be organized but authorized a sheriff to post notices of an election for county officers. From this time until 1847 organizing laws of this nature were the usual rule.

The first general law under which any county might organize was passed in connection with Pottawattamie County in 1847. Although there were some counties organized under special acts subsequent to this time, most of the counties complied with and organized under the provisions of this general law until 1853 when the second general law concerning organization was passed.

Before the passage of this second general law, the county commission plan was abolished and the county judge system came into existence. This system continued from 1851 until 1860 when it was superseded by the supervisor system. Under the plan adopted at this time the board of supervisors consisted of one man elected from each township. In 1870 this plan was abolished and the commission system readopted. According to this system, which has continued down to the present time, the county selects from three to seven supervisors or commissioners to serve on the county board of supervisors. The supervisors are, in the majority of counties, elected at large but the county may at its own option be divided into districts

and elect its supervisors from these districts. Only two counties — Lyon and Osceola — were organized after this plan of government was adopted.

In this account the order has been determined by the date of organization. An alphabetical list of the counties, together with the data available as to their establishment and organization, follows:

DATA CONCERNING ORGANIZATION OF COUNTIES IN IOWA

Name of County	Date Established	Date of Organizing Act	Date of Election	Date of First Official Business
Adair	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Apr. 1854	May 6, 1854
Adams	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 12, 1853	Apr. 4, 1853	Sept. 21, 1853
Allamakee	Feb. 20, 1847	Jan. 15, 1849	Apr. 2, 1849	Apr. 10, 1849
Appanoose	Feb. 17, 1843	Jan. 13, 1846	Aug. 3 1846	Oct. 5, 1846
Audubon	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Apr. 2, 1855	July 9, 1855
Benton	Dec. 21, 1837	Jan. 17, 1846	Apr. 6, 1846	May 1846
Black Hawk	Feb. 17, 1843	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 1, 1853	Aug. 17, 1853
Boone	Jan. 13, 1846	Feb. 24, 1847	Aug. 6, 1849	Oct. 1, 1849
Bremer	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 1853	Aug. 15, 1853
Buchanan	Dec. 21, 1837	Feb. 24, 1847	Aug. 2, 1847	Oct. 4, 1847
Buena Vista	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Nov. 16, 1858	Nov. 20, 1858
Butler	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 1854	Oct. 2, 1854
Calhoun	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 6, 1855	Nov. 7, 1855
Carroll	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 6, 1855	Aug. 17, 1855
Cass	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 12, 1853	Apr. 4, 1853	June 17, 1853
Cedar	Dec. 21, 1837	Dec. 21, 1837	Mar. 5, 1838	Apr. 2, 1838
Cerro Gordo	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 7, 1855	Dec. 29, 1855
Cherokee	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 1857	Oct. 2, 1858
Chickasaw	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 12, 1853	Sept. 12, 1853
Clarke	Jan. 13, 1846	Feb. 24, 1847	Aug. 4, 1851	Aug. 21, 1851
Clay	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Oct. 12, 1858	Oct. 15, 1858
Clayton	Dec. 21, 1837	Dec. 21, 1837	Sept. 1838	Oct. 6, 1838
Clinton	Dec. 21, 1837	Jan. 11, 1840	Apr. 6, 1840	Jan. 5, 1841
Crawford	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Apr. 1855	Sept. 3, 1855
Dallas	Jan. 13, 1846	Feb. 16, 1847	Apr. 5, 1847	May 3, 1847
Davis	Feb. 17, 1843	Feb. 15, 1844	Apr. 1, 1844	Apr. 13, 1844
Decatur	Jan. 13, 1846	Feb. 24, 1847	Apr. 1, 1850	May 6, 1850
Delaware	Dec. 21, 1837	Dec. 20, 1839	Aug. 2, 1841	Nov. 19, 1841
Des Moines	Sept. 6, 1834	Sept. 6, 1834	Appt'd by Gov. Dec. 26, 1834	Sept. 29, 1835
Dickinson	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 3, 1857	(1857)[187]
Dubuque	Sept. 6, 1834	Sept. 6, 1834	Appt'd by Gov. Sept. 6, 1834	May 30, 1836

[187] Wilson's *A Description of Iowa and its Resources* (1865), p. 71, indicates that Dickinson County was organized in 1857. The records, however, were burned in 1871 and accordingly the exact date of organization is not known.

Name of County	Date Established	Date of Organizing Act	Date of Election	Date of First Official Business
Emmet	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Feb. 7, 1859	(1859)[188]
Fayette	Dec. 21, 1837	Feb. 24, 1847	July 15, 1850	Aug. 26, 1850
Floyd	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 7, 1854	Sept. 4, 1854
Franklin	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 5, 1855	Mar. 3, 1856
Fremont	Feb. 24, 1847	Feb. 24, 1847	Apr. 1849	Sept. 10, 1849
Greene	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 12, 1854	Aug. 25, 1854
Grundy	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	May 5, 1856	Dec. 25, 1856
Guthrie	Jan. 15, 1851	Feb. 24, 1847	Aug. 4, 1851	Oct. 16, 1851
Hamilton	Dec. 22, 1856	Dec. 22, 1856	Apr. 6, 1857	June 12, 1857
Hancock	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	June 28, 1858	Nov. 25, 1858
Hardin	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Mar. 2, 1853	(1853)[189]
Harrison	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 12, 1853	Apr. 4, 1853	Aug. 5, 1853
Henry	Dec. 7, 1836	Dec. 6, 1836	Jan. 13, 1837	Jan. 16, 1837
Howard	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 6, 1855	Sept. 15, 1855
Humboldt	Jan. 28, 1857	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 3, 1857	Aug. 31, 1857
Ida[190]	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 4, 1858	Jan. 1, 1859
Iowa	Feb. 17, 1843	June 16, 1845	Aug. 4, 1845	Sept. 16, 1845
Jackson	Dec. 21, 1837	Dec. 21, 1837	Spring, 1838	Apr. 2, 1838
Jasper	Jan. 13, 1846	Jan. 17, 1846	Apr. 6, 1846	Apr. 14, 1846
Jefferson	Jan. 21, 1839	Jan. 21, 1839	Apr. 1, 1839	Apr. 8, 1839
Johnson	Dec. 21, 1837	Dec. 21, 1837	Sept. 10, 1838	Mar. 29, 1839
Jones	Dec. 21, 1837	Jan. 24, 1839	Fall, 1839	Feb. 3, 1840
Keokuk	Dec. 21, 1837	Feb. 5, 1844	Apr. 1, 1844	Apr. 24, 1844
Kossuth	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug., 1855	Mar. 1, 1856
Lee	Dec. 7, 1836	Dec. 7, 1836	Apr. 3, 1837	Apr. 17, 1837
Linn	Dec. 21, 1837	Jan. 15, 1839	Aug., 1839	Sept. 9, 1839
Louisa	Dec. 7, 1836	Dec. 7, 1836	Spring, 1837	Apr. 22, 1837
Lucas	Jan. 13, 1846	Jan. 15, 1849	Aug. 6, 1849	Aug. 10, 1849
Lyon	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Oct. 10, 1871	Jan. 1, 1872
Madison	Jan. 13, 1846	Feb. 24, 1847	Jan. 1, 1849	Feb. 19, 1849
Mahaska	Feb. 17, 1843	Feb. 5, 1844	Apr. 1, 1844	May 14, 1844
Marion	June 10, 1845	June 10, 1845	Sept. 1, 1845	Sept. 12, 1845
Marshall	Jan. 13, 1846	Feb. 24, 1847	Aug. 6, 1849	Oct. 1, 1849
Mills	Jan. 15, 1851	Feb. 24, 1847	Aug. 4, 1851	Aug. 18, 1851
Mitchell	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 7, 1854	Oct. 2, 1854
Monona	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Apr. 3, 1854	1854
Monroe	Feb. 17, 1843	June 11, 1845	Aug. 5, 1845	Aug. 9, 1845
Montgomery	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 1, 1853	Aug. 15, 1853
Muscatine	Dec. 7, 1836	Dec. 7, 1836	Spring, 1837	Oct. 4, 1837
O'Brien	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Feb. 6, 1860	Apr. 7, 1860

[188] The records of the first official business in Emmet County have been burned. The best authority available indicates that the county was organized in 1859. — Wilson's *A Description of Iowa and its Resources* (1865), p. 66.

[189] The early records in Hardin County have been destroyed but the county is reported to have been organized in 1853. — *History of Hardin County, Iowa* (1883), pp. 234, 235; Wilson's *A Description of Iowa and its Resources* (1865), p. 60.

[190] The available sources do not agree as to the exact date of organization in Ida County. The year 1858 is given as the date by Wilson in *A Description of Iowa and Its Resources* (1865), p. 72. Jan. 1, 1859, is given by the auditor.

Name of County	Date Established	Date of Organizing Act	Date of Election	Date of First Official Business
Osceola	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Oct. 10, 1871	Jan. 1, 1872
Page	Feb. 24, 1847	Feb. 24, 1847	1851	Mar. 22, 1852
Palo Alto	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Dec. 20, 1858	Dec. 29, 1858
Plymouth	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Oct. 12, 1858	Oct. 27, 1858
Pocahontas	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Mar. 15, 1859	May 11, 1859
Polk	Jan. 13, 1846	Jan. 17, 1846	Apr. 6, 1846	Apr. 12, 1846
Pottawattamie	Feb. 24, 1847	Feb. 24, 1847	Sept., 1848	Sept. 21, 1848
Poweshiek	Feb. 17, 1843	Jan. 24, 1848	Apr. 3, 1848	Spring, 1848
Ringgold	Feb. 24, 1847	Jan. 31, 1855	May 14, 1855	June 29, 1855
Sac	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Apr. 7, 1856	(1856)[191]
Scott	Dec. 21, 1837	Dec. 2, 1837	Mar. 5, 1838	Mar. 20, 1838
Shelby	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 12, 1853	Apr. 4, 1853	(1853)[192]
Sioux	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	(1860)	(1860)[193]
Story	Jan. 13, 1846	Jan. 22, 1853	Apr. 4, 1853	Spring, 1853
Tama	Feb. 17, 1843	Jan. 22, 1853	May 2, 1853	July 4, 1853
Taylor	Feb. 24, 1847	Feb. 24, 1847	Feb., 1851	Feb. 26, 1851
Union	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 12, 1853	Apr. 4, 1853	June 22, 1853
Van Buren	Dec. 7, 1836	Dec. 7, 1836	Spring, 1837	May 4, 1837
Wapello	Feb. 17, 1843	Feb. 13, 1844	Apr. 1, 1844	May 20, 1844
Warren	Jan. 13, 1846	Feb. 24, 1847	Jan. 1, 1849	Feb. 10, 1849
Washington	Jan. 18, 1838	Jan. 25, 1839	Spring, 1839	May 5, 1839
Wayne	Jan. 13, 1846	Feb. 24, 1847	Dec. 28, 1850	Jan. 27, 1851
Webster	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Apr. 4, 1853	May 14, 1853
Winnebago	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Oct., 1857	(1857)[194]
Winneshiek	Feb. 20, 1847	Jan. 15, 1851	Aug. 4, 1851	Sept., 1851
Woodbury	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 12, 1853	Aug. 1, 1853	Jan. 27, 1854
Worth	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Oct. 13, 1857	May 1, 1858
Wright	Jan. 15, 1851	Jan. 22, 1853	Aug. 6, 1855	Oct., 1855

Jacob A. Swisher

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[191] That Sac County completed its organization in 1856 can only be inferred from the fact that the organizing election was held in April of that year. In the first minute book of the county the date of record is omitted.

[192] In Shelby County it is believed that organization was completed in 1853. This date is given by Wilson in *A Description of Iowa and its Resources* (1865), p. 78. The exact date, however, is not given.

[193] A search of available materials fails to reveal the exact date of organization in Sioux County — the years 1858 and 1860 both having been designated. It is believed, however, that the latter date is correct. — *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. IX, p. 604; Wilson's *A Description of Iowa and its Resources* (1865), p. 73.

[194] In Winnebago County the early records were burned in 1861. It is believed, however, that the county was organized in 1857. — Wilson's *A Description of Iowa and its Resources* (1865), p. 62.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Political Ideas of The American Revolution, by Randolph Greenfield Adams, has been recently published by Trinity College, Durham, N. C.

The Anderson Fugitive Case, by Fred Landon, *A Negro Senator,* by G. David Houston, and *Lincoln's Emancipation Plan,* by Harry S. Blackiston, are three of the contributions to *The Journal of Negro History* for July.

Americana for July contains three articles of general interest: *"I have Called the Place Pittsburgh",* by George T. Fleming; *American Physicians in the Field of Literature,* by Charles A. Ingraham; and *The Battle of Monmouth,* by Frank R. Holmes.

The Presidential Campaign of 1832, by Samuel Rhea Gammon, Jr., has been published as a recent number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.*

Physical Anthropology of the Old Americans, by Aleš Hrdlička, is the title of a monograph published in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* for April-June.

Among the articles in the October number of *The Yale Review* are the following: *Sections and Nation,* by Frederick Jackson Turner; *War Debts,* by R. C. Leffingwell; and *American Manners in 1830,* by Paul Lambert White.

The Geography of Fairs, by André Allix, *The Unguarded Boundary,* by John W. Davis, *The Population Problem,* by Raymond Pearl, and *On the Future Distribution of White Settlement,* by Walter F. Willcox, are four articles of historical interest in *The Geographical Review* for October.

The Supreme Court's Review of Legislation, by T. R. Powell, is one of the six papers in the September issue of the *Political*

Science Quarterly. The Supplement for this number contains a *Record of Political Events* from July 1, 1921, to June 30, 1922, by Harry J. Carman and Elmer D. Graper.

The American Anthropologist for January–March contains the following papers: *The Vision in Plains Culture,* by Ruth Fulton Benedict; *Medicines Used by the Micmac Indians,* by Wilson D. Wallis; *The Traditional Origin and the Naming of the Seneca Nation,* by Frederick Houghton; *A New Maya Historical Narrative,* by Ralph L. Roys; and *The First Season's Work of the American School in France for Prehistoric Studies,* by George Grant MacCurdy.

Centralization versus Decentralization, by S. Gale Lowrie, *State Administrative Reorganization,* by John M. Mathews, *Dogmas of Administrative Reform,* by F. W. Coker, and *The Trend of the Direct Primary,* by Ralph S. Boots, are four articles in the August number of *The American Political Science Review.* Under the heading *American Government and Politics,* Nathan Isaacs writes on *Federal Control over Industry* and Ben A. Arneson of *Federal Aid to the States. Legislative Notes and Reviews,* edited by Walter F. Dodd, contains *Soldiers' Bonus,* by Chas. Kettleborough, *1921 Legislation Respecting Elections,* by Victor J. West, and *Party Affiliation Tests,* by Miller McClintock.

WESTERN AMERICANA

The South Dakota Department of History has recently issued a *Descriptive Catalog of the South Dakota State Museum.* Some sixty-seven hundred articles are listed.

The Reorganization of State Government in Nebraska, by Luella Gettys, has recently been published by the Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau as Bulletin No. 11.

The Life and Services of Joseph Duncan, Governor of Illinois, 1834–1838, by Elizabeth Duncan Putnam, has been reprinted from the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society.*

Winter and Summer Dance Series in Zuñi in 1918, by Elsie

Clews Parsons, is a monograph published as a recent number of the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.*

The Santa Fe Fiesta and Centenary of Santa Fe Trail is one of the articles in *El Palacio* for July 15, 1922. In the number for September first is a paper by J. D. De Huff, on *How Shall We Educate the Indian?*

Higher Education — Comments, by Arland D. Weeks, *Teachers and Standards,* by Joseph Kennedy, *Rural Education,* by Edward Erickson, *Colleges on a Private Foundation,* by B. H. Kroeze, and *The State University,* by representatives of various activities, are the papers which make up the July number of *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota.*

History of Education in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, by H. S. Salisbury, an autobiography by John J. Cornish, and a continuation of *The Journal of Ethan Barrows,* are three of the papers in the *Journal of History* for July. Continuations of H. S. Salisbury's *History of Education in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,* the autobiography of John J. Cornish, and *The Journal of Ethan Barrows* are three of the contributions to the number for October. There are also further installments of *The History and Minutes of the High Councils of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,* by Roy L. Roberts, and *Local History: Lamoni Stake,* by Duncan Campbell.

Beaver Dam Lake, by Charles E. Brown, is one of the contributions in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for January. *Ojibway Myths and Tales,* collected by G. E. Laidlaw, and archeological notes are also included. *Stoneworks and Garden Beds in Winnebago County,* by George R. Fox, and *Winnebago Legends,* secured by Oliver Lemere, are two of the contributions in the number for April. There is also a report of a meeting of the Indian Landmarks Committee of the Wisconsin Historical Society, held at Madison, Wisconsin, in January, 1922, and other archeological notes.

IOWANA

Fruit, Garden and Home is the name of a new periodical published by the Successful Farming Company at Des Moines.

Physicians Who Located in Iowa in the Period between 1850 and 1860, by D. S. Fairchild, is an article of historical interest in *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* for July. It is continued in the number for September.

The Algona Bee, A Story of Newspaper Beginnings, is the title of a small volume recently published. This is much more than the history of a newspaper: it contains a fund of information on early life in Iowa and early Iowa history. A number of maps and portraits are included.

A Word-List from Pioneer Iowa and an Inquiry into Iowa Dialect Origins, by Frank Luther Mott, is one of the papers of historical as well as literary interest in the July number of the *Philological Quarterly.*

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The life and adventures of Captain Stephen B. Hanks, edited by Fred A. Bill, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* July 1, 8, 15, 22, and 29, 1922.

Recollections of the old river, by J. M. Turner, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* July 1, 15, 22, 29, August 12, 19, 26, and September 2, 9, 16, and 23, 1922.

Sketch of the life of George W. Koontz, in the *Iowa City Republican,* July 1, 1922, and the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* July 3, 1922.

William E. Burt, inventor of first typewriter, in the *Des Moines Register,* July 2, 1922.

Henry Delong's career in Council Bluffs, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* July 5, 1922.

Survivors of Richmond Post G. A. R. at Dallas Center, in the *Dallas Center Times,* July 6, 1922.

Sketch of the life of David Hine of Chickasaw County, in the *Nashua Reporter,* July 6, 1922.

William F. Cody's birthplace near Le Claire, Iowa, in the *Davenport Democrat,* July 6, 1922.

Some early history of Benton County, in the *Vinton Eagle,* July 7, 1922.

The story of Chemeuse or Johnny Green, in the *West Bend Journal,* July 7, 1922.

The first round trip of the steamer "Virginia" on the Mississippi River, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* July 8, 15, 22, and 29, 1922.

Samuel V. Whittaker, pioneer school teacher in Van Buren County, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* July 8, 1922, and the *Fairfield Ledger,* July 18, 1922.

The "Green Tree Hotel" in the national arboretum at Washington, D. C., in the *Davenport Times,* July 10, 1922.

Proposed memorial for William F. Cody in Scott County, in the *Sioux City Journal,* July 10, 1922, the *Cedar Rapids Republican,* July 11, 1922, and the *Wayland News,* July 13, 1922.

The career of Julien Dubuque in Iowa, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican* and the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* July 10, 1922, and the *Waterloo Tribune,* July 11, 1922.

Early Catholic settlement at Westphalia in Shelby County, in the *Harlan Tribune,* July 12, 1922, and the *Atlantic News,* July 18, 1922.

Collection of relics made by E. H. Talbott, in the *Brooklyn Chronicle,* July 13, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Albert Bigelow Paine, the biographer of Mark Twain, in the *Des Moines Register,* July 16, 1922, and the *Keosauqua Republican,* July 27, 1922.

D. R. Cowles in Brackett's Brigade, in the *Creston Advertiser-Gazette,* July 17, 1922.

Early history of Strawberry Point, by B. W. Newberry, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* July 19, 1922.

The historical interest of old Fort Atkinson, in the *Elkader Register,* July 20, 1922, and the *West Union Union,* July 27, 1922.

The James brothers' train robbery near Adair, in the *Adair News,* July 21, 1922.

Railroad experience of Warren D. Sanford, in the *Atlantic News,* July 22, 1922.

Notes on the early history of Ida County, in the *Ida Grove Pioneer,* July 26, 1922.

Sketch of the life of N. E. Stickel, in the *Indianola Record,* July 26, 1922, the *Osceola Sentinel* and the *Indianola Herald,* July 27, 1922, and the *Des Moines Tribune,* September 20, 1922.

Horse Thief Cave near Anamosa, in the *Davenport Democrat,* July 26, 1922, the *Cedar Rapids Republican,* August 20, 1922, and the *Des Moines Register,* September 3, 1922.

An old stage coach visits Hawarden, in the *Hawarden Chronicle,* July 27, 1922.

Alex Duncan said to be Iowa's oldest Civil War veteran, in the *Titonka Topic,* July 27, 1922, and the *Stuart Herald,* August 4, 1922.

First Methodist church at Delhi, Delaware County, in the *Des Moines Register,* July 30, 1922, and the *Hopkinton Leader,* August 3, 1922.

Daniel Webster's cradle at Eagle Grove, in the *Des Moines Register,* July 30, 1922.

Rivalry between steamboats at Keokuk, in the *Keokuk Gate-City,* July 31, 1922.

Some Meskwaki rules of conduct, in the *Clinton Herald,* August 1, 1922.

Daniel Gonder, only Mexican War veteran in Iowa, in the *Jefferson Bee,* August 2, 1922.

Reminiscences of Ladora, by Rufus W. Rosenberger, in the *Marengo Republican,* August 2, 1922.

Reminiscences of the Civil War, by Albert Downing, in the *Estherville Republican,* August 2, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Louis Goeppinger, in the *Boone Pioneer,* August 2, 1922.

Mrs. George Fatherson, Iowa's oldest resident, in the *Des Moines Tribune,* August 2, 1922.

Early history of Benton County, in the *Shellsburg Advance,* August 3, 1922.

Sketch of the life of James Rush Lincoln, in the *Ames Tribune,* August 4, 1922, the *Des Moines Capital,* August 5, 1922, the *Nevada Journal,* August 7, 1922, and the *Boone News,* August 9, 1922.

History of the Lansing Methodist Church, in the *Lansing Mirror,* August 4, 1922.

The coming of William Rhodes to Fertile Township, in the *Hanlontown News,* August 4, 1922.

Down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers in 1823 by Fred A. Bill, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* August 5, 1922.

Sketch of the life of T. A. Carpenter, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger,* August 5, 1922.

The fortieth anniversary of the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* August 5, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. D. C. Bloomer, in the *Des Moines Register,* August 6, 1922.

Roster of the City Rifles of Keokuk, in the *Des Moines Capital,* August 6, 1922.

Early days in Davenport, in the *Davenport Democrat,* August 7, 1922.

Pioneer days in Mahaska County, in the *Oskaloosa Times,* August 10, 1922.

Early days in Jasper County, in the *Colfax Tribune,* August 10, 1922.

The Spirit Lake Massacre, by R. Holmes Bloomer, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon,* August 10 and 17, 1922.

Sketch of the life of George Harvey, in the *Burlington Gazette,* August 11, 1922.

The Hot Springs Railroad, by Fred A. Bill, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post,* August 12 and 19, 1922.

Anton Linder, old-time resident of Johnson County, in the *Davenport Times* and the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* August 12, 1922, and the *Cedar Rapids Republican,* August 13, 1922.

When Abraham Lincoln visited in Council Bluffs, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* August 14 and 26, 1922, and the *Cedar Falls Record,* August 16, 1922.

The story of Hoprig, by J. W. Oakes, in the *Estherville Republican,* August 16, 1922.

The meaning of "Minnewaukon" or Spirit Lake, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon,* August 17, 1922.

Reminiscences of Indians, by Mrs. Wellington Nossaman, in the *Pella Chronicle,* August 17, 1922.

Prairie City fifty years ago, in the *Prairie City News,* August 17, 1922.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Le Grand, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* August 18, 1922.

Mastodon tusk found near Granger, in the *Des Moines Register,* August 20, 1922, and the *Pierson Progress,* September 7, 1922.

Finding of an image of the Virgin in a crevice opposite Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Journal,* August 20, 22, 1922.

Early days in Winterset, by Jennie Munger Ballard, in the *Winterset Madisonian,* August 24, 1922.

Old Fort Madison, in the *Wapello Tribune,* August 24, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Edwin E. Lucas, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* August 25, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Albert W. Swalm, in the *Des Moines Capital,* August 25, 1922.

Woodbury County pioneers, in the *Sioux City Tribune,* August 26, 1922.

Kenea and Lane for forty-seven years editors of the *Clarinda Journal,* in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* August 27, 1922.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. William Larrabee, in the *Dubuque Herald,* August 27, 1922.

Sketch of the life of M. D. O'Connell, in the *Webster City Journal,* August 29, 1922, the *Fort Dodge Messenger,* August 28 and 30, 1922, and the *Des Moines Plain Talk,* August 31, 1922.

Schools at Pleasant Plain, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* August 28, 1922.

Sketch of the life of E. C. Haynes, in the *Centerville Iowegian,* August 29, 1922.

Reminiscences of Jones County, by John Sullivan, in the *Monticello Express,* August 31, 1922, and the *Cascade Pioneer,* September 7, 1922.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

A third installment of *Letters from William and Mary, 1795–1799,* from originals in the collection of Thomas S. Watson, and *When the Convicts Came,* by Fairfax Harrison, are two of the contributions in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for July.

A Century of Missouri Art, by J. S. Ankeny, *Wheat Raising in Pioneer Missouri,* by Ashbury Good-Knight, *The Influence of Population Movements on Missouri Before 1861,* by William O. Lynch, *Missourians Abroad — Winston Churchill,* by J. Breckenridge Ellis, a continuation of *The Followers of Duden,* by William G. Bek, *"Arius, The Libyan",* the story of Nathan C. Kouns, by Walter B. Stevens, and *Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri,* by Wiley Britton, are the articles in the July number of *The Missouri Historical Review.*

Dr. David Nelson and his Times, by W. A. Richardson, Jr., *Robert T. Lincoln and James R. Doolittle,* by Duane Mowry, *The Indian Border War of 1876,* by Cynthia J. Capron, *Congregational Church, Toulon, Illinois, 1846–1921,* by Clare McKenzie, and *Two Pioneer Doctors of Stark County, Illinois,* by William R. Sandham, are the articles and papers in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for January, 1921.

In the June number of *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* are the following articles and papers: *Development of Agriculture in Lower Georgia from 1850 to 1880,* by Roland M. Harper; a report of the eighty-third annual meeting of the Georgia Historical Society; *Beverly Daniel Evans,* by Orville A. Park; and a further installment of the *Howell Cobb Papers,* edited by R. P. Brooks.

Crossing the Plains, by Clarence B. Bagley, *Newspapers of*

Washington Territory, by Edmond S. Meany, *Finan McDonald — Explorer, Fur Trader and Legislator,* by J. A. Meyers, *Arthur Armstrong Denny — A Bibliography,* by Agnes C. Peterson, and a further contribution of the *Origin of Washington Geographic Names,* by Edmond S. Meany, are the articles which make up *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for July. There is also a continuation of *The Nisqually Journal,* edited by Victor J. Farrar.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly for January, 1921, contains an account entitled *The Celebration of the Centenary of the Supreme Court of Louisiana.* This includes an address by Henry Plauché Dart on *The History of the Supreme Court of Louisiana,* one by Charles Payne Fenner on *The Jurisprudence of the Supreme Court of Louisiana,* an address on *The Louisiana Bar, 1813–1913,* by T. C. W. Ellis, and a series of biographical sketches of the Justices of the Supreme Court, by William Kernan Dart. There is also a short article on *Louisiana Land Titles Derived from Indian Tribes,* by Henry P. Dart.

The Origin of the Prehistoric Mounds of Oregon, by George William Wright, a second installment of *The History of the Oregon Mission Press,* by Howard Malcolm Ballou, *Facts Pertaining to Ex-Slaves in Oregon and Documentary Record of the Case of Robin Holmes vs. Nathaniel Ford,* by Fred Lockley, and *Mining Laws of Jackson County, 1860–1876,* with introduction and notes by Verne Blue, are contributions to *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for June. There is also a third installment of the *Letters of the Rev. William M. Roberts, Third Superintendent of the Oregon Mission,* edited by Robert Moulton Gatke.

Calvin Morgan McClung and His Library, an address by George F. Mellen, *The Natchez Trace,* by R. S. Cotterill, *The Boyhood of President Polk,* by A. V. Goodpasture, and *The Battle of King's Mountain,* by Samuel C. Williams, are the four papers in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for April, 1921.

The Real Thomas Paine, Patriot and Publicist: A Philosopher Misunderstood, by Henry Leffmann, *The Philadelphia Method of Selecting and Drawing Jurors,* by T. Elliott Patterson, and con-

tinuations of the *Journey to Bethlehem,* by Joshua Gilpin, and *The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry,* by W. A. Newman Dorland, are the four contributions in the April issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.* In the number for July are the following: *The Indians of the Past and of the Present,* an address by George P. Donehoo; *Jasper Yeates and His Times,* by Charles I. Landis; *Early Fire Protection and the Use of Fire Marks,* by George Cuthbert Gillespie; and a continuation of *The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry,* by W. A. Newman Dorland.

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for July contains the following contributions: *Early Courts, Judges, and Lawyers of Allegheny County,* by A. B. Reid; *The Factory Riots in Allegheny City; Indian Graves,* by Benjamin S. Parker; *Careers of the Croghans,* by Stephen Quinon; *Washington's Western Journeys and their Relation to Pittsburgh,* by Robert M. Ewing; *The Critical Period in Pennsylvania History,* by John P. Penny; and a fourth installment of *The Pittsburgh Blues,* by John H. Niebaum.

ACTIVITIES

In May, 1922, the Chicago Historical Society began the issue of monthly bulletins to inform members of the Society and the public in general of its activities and acquisitions.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held its annual Upper Peninsula meeting at Mackinac on July 27, 28, and 29, 1922. Visits to the places of historical interest so numerous in this vicinity were a feature of the meeting.

The Minnesota Historical Society held a meeting at Duluth on July 28 and 29, 1922. It is planned to hold meetings of this kind each summer in various cities of the State.

The annual business meeting of the Hawkeye Natives was held at Burlington on September 11, 1922. The election of officers was as follows: president, John Braumberger; vice president, F. S.

Schrieber; secretary, F. N. Field; treasurer, L. C. Wallbridge. Five new members were added.

On August 19, 1922, there was organized at Ida Grove an association known as the Ida County Historical Society. G. C. Moorhead was chosen president and Sophia Edmundson secretary.

The Wapello County Historical Society has recently been incorporated. The officers are as follows: W. R. Daum, president; Mrs. H. L. Waterman, vice president; Mrs. F. B. Thrall, secretary; and D. A. Emery, treasurer. The purpose of the society is the collection and compilation of county history.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Marvin H. Dey has been elected President of the Board of Curators of The State Historical Society of Iowa and will also serve as President of the Society for the year July 1, 1922, to July 1, 1923.

The British in Iowa, by Jacob Van der Zee, has recently been published by the State Historical Society. Part one of this volume is a general survey of British settlers in Iowa; part two is the story of the English colony in northwestern Iowa sponsored by William B. Close and his brothers Frederick B. Close and James B. Close.

The State Historical Society has just completed the distribution of *The History of Banking in Iowa,* by Howard H. Preston. The volume is one of the *Economic History Series* and contains the following chapters: Economic and Political Background, The Miners' Bank of Dubuque, Prohibition of Banking, Frontier Banking in Iowa, Constitutional Authorization of Banking Corporations, The State Bank of Iowa, Establishment of the Present Banking System, Development of Banking, 1875–1921, Supervision of Banking, The Federal Reserve System in Iowa, Building and Loan Associations, Farm Mortgage Banking, Special Types of Banking, Banks and the Community, and The Iowa Bankers Association.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. W. S. Ayres, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Jas. H. Devaney, Cascade, Iowa; Mr. Kenneth Evans, Emerson, Iowa; Mr. G. L. Hostetler, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. C. J. Latta, Harlan, Iowa; Mrs. Carol Lewis, Britt, Iowa; Mr. T. F. Lynch, Pocahontas, Iowa; Mr. J. P. Schutt, Sioux Center, Iowa; Mr. Karl C. Smith, Preston, Iowa; Mr. Fred L. Stevens, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. A. J. Walsmith, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mrs. Lillian Clark Cary, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. G. W. Fowler, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Edith C. Heden, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Leonard S. Hsu, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. C. J. Kellogg, Miles, Iowa; Mr. Lewis M. Martin, Atlantic, Iowa; Dr. Henry G. Moershel, Homestead, Iowa; Dr. Alanson M. Pond, Dubuque, Iowa; Rev. James B. Greteman, Remsen, Iowa; Mr. Winfred E. Robb, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Howard G. Stillson, Boone, Iowa; Mr. Reuel H. Sylvester, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. J. P. Wenner, Clarinda, Iowa; Mr. J. R. Witzigman, Miles, Iowa; Mr. Ralph Bowen, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. H. E. Dow, Hamburg, Iowa; Mr. Chas. E. Fahrney, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. C. M. Gruener, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Axel Henderson, Boxholm, Iowa; Mrs. Thos. L. Maxwell, Creston, Iowa; Mr. H. B. Newcomb, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. J. E. Snover, Boone, Iowa; Mr. William M. Sproul, Des Moines, Iowa; and Miss Bess Wellman, Sheldon, Iowa. The following persons have been enrolled as life members: Mr. Arthur J. Cox, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. J. P. Cruikshank, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. Seth Dean, Glenwood, Iowa; Mr. F. C. Ensign, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Eliza L. Johnson, Chicago, Illinois; Mr. Ernest R. Moore, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. S. T. Morrison, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Henry J. Peterson, Laramie, Wyoming; Mr. Edward K. Putnam, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. James H. Trewin, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Henry G. Walker, Iowa City, Iowa; and Mr. E. H. Downey, Harrisburg, Pa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The thirty-sixth annual reunion of the old settlers of Madison County was held at Winterset, on August 10, 1922. J. R. Files gave the principal address.

Civil War veterans of Buchanan County met at Independence on September 6, 1922. The average age of those present was nearly seventy-nine years.

About 1000 people attended the meeting of Linn County old settlers held at Marion on September 14, 1922. James E. Bromwell was elected president and James Bleakley, secretary and treasurer.

The dedication of the monument to commemorate the discovery in Madison County of the Delicious apple tree was held at Winterset on August 15, 1922.

A meeting of the old settlers of Cedar County was held at Tipton on June 10, 1922. This is the anniversary of the arrival of the first white settler who came on June 10, 1836.

On August 24, 25, and 26, 1922, Dubuque staged a mammoth historical pageant depicting scenes in the history of Iowa since the coming of Julien Dubuque.

The pioneers of Mills, Fremont, and Pottawattamie counties met at Malvern on September 7, 1922. F. G. Weeks was elected president for the ensuing year and A. C. Sivers, secretary. The meeting in 1923 will be held at Carson.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Le Grand was celebrated on August 17, 1922. A museum of relics was one of the attractions. An address was delivered by H. E. McGrew.

On September 5, 6, and 7, 1922, the town of Pella celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the coming of the Hollanders to

Iowa. A pageant — All Epfos Red Hall Oh — was given in commemoration of the founding of the town in 1847. The production was written and directed by Julia Haymond Watson of Central College.

The old settlers of Johnson County held their annual reunion at Iowa City on September 7, 1922. Officers elected for the following year were the following: Isaac B. Lee, president; Jacob George and John McCollister, vice presidents; Joseph Walker, secretary; and W. J. Weber, treasurer.

Ezekiel Henry Downey was born at Bloomfield, Iowa, on December 27, 1879. In 1907 he received the Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Iowa and in 1913 was granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Wisconsin. Soon after receiving this degree he became the head of the State Insurance Commission of Pennsylvania, a position which he held until his death on July 9, 1922. For several years he conducted researches for the State Historical Society of Iowa and was the author of a number of books and pamphlets published by the Society — *History of Labor Legislation in Iowa, History of Work Accident Indemnity in Iowa,* and *Regulation of Urban Utilities in Iowa.* At the time of his death he had just completed a volume on the *History of Workmen's Compensation Insurance* which is to be published by the University of Wisconsin.

CONTRIBUTORS

Jacob Armstrong Swisher, Born in Illinois in 1884. Received the B. A. degree from the State University of Iowa in 1917 and the M. A. degree in 1918. Author of *The Executive Veto in Iowa* and *The Judiciary of the Territory of Iowa.*

AN INDEX

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